SPEECHES

BY

RAJA RAJENDRALALA MITRA, L.L. D., C. I. E.

EDITED BY

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THIS BOOK

IS

MOST RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED

TO THE

SACRED MEMORY

OF LATE

MAHARAJ-KUMAR NEEL KRISHNA BAHADUR,

WHO WAS CUT AWAY AT THE PRIME OF LIFE, WHOSE UNOSTENTATIOUS HABITS, SIMPLICITY OF MANNERS, EXEMPLARY CHARACTER, PUBLIC SPIRIT, MORAL RECTITUDE AND OTHER NOBLE QUALITIES OF HEAD AND HEART HAD WON FOR HIM THE GOLDEN OPINION OF ALL HIS COUNTRYMEN AND WHO HAS LEFT BEHIND HIM A LARGE CIRCLE OF FRIENDS AND ADMIRERS TO MOURN HIS LOSS

AS A TOKEN

OF

THE EDITOR'S PERSONAL REGARD AND AFFECTION

PREFACE.

No one holds up a candle light to show the midday sun. The speeches of Raja Rajendralala Mitra are their own recommendation and require no puff to commend them to the notice of the public. The profundity of erudition, the breadth of views, the encyclopedic character of knowledge which Raja Rajendralala Mitra brought to bear on his public utterances are rare in these days of cram and shallowness. And what will strike the reader most is the mark of originality and individuality which Raja Rajendralala has left in every branch of theoretical speculation and practical business. His was the rare knack of calling a spade a spade, and of subordinating the will of others to that of his own. He was an intellectual pugilist whose pleasure was in vanquishing an opponent and floating against the stream. But at the same time there was neither brag nor bluster, nor that spirit of braggadacio which emanates from vanity, that sure index of inanity. He would give praise to whom praise was due and gladly sympathize with and support any project which had for its object the well-being of society, encouragement of learning, or improvement in the condition of the masses of the people, irrespective of the quarter from which it emanated. But for vanity and plans of self-aggrandisement he had nothing but a long whip to crack. Vapouring politicians, budding orators, half

unfledged reformers, charlatans and quacks, who considered their own nostrum to be the one universal panacea for all the ills "that flesh is heir to," found in him an enemy of uncompromising character, with whom their talents were ill-fitted to cope. He was a hater of sham, and was the last man to allow himself to be hoodwinked by dissimulation or prevailed upon to deflect from the path of rectitude either by cajolery or flattery. That the speeches of such a man will be read with pleasure and profit by the rising generation I have no doubt. His utterances, as embodied in the following speeches, embrace topics of a varied character and ought to be held as a model of composition. The students of politics will do well to master and ponder over the subject-matter of these speeches, and the mode of their handling. And it will not be too much to say that they will, for a long to come, act as a beacon and a light to the youthful aspirants after Literary fame. In the present compilation will be found almost all the important speeches of Raja Rajendralala delivered at the British Indian Association—the first and foremost Political Association in Bengal. They will therefore prove a mine of information on various topics, political and educational, which engrossed the attention both of Government and public for a period of nearly thirty years; and as most of these topics have yet to be satisfactorily disposed of, the public will no doubt study them with advantage. The utterances of Raja Rajendralala at the Asiatic Society have been omitted as they are of a specific and technical character and may not on that account prove interesting to the gen-

eral reader. It was originally intended to include in the present compilation all the important notes of the Raja on matters, social and educational, but as it has exceeded its proposed limits, I have satisfied myself with including a very few of the most important and interesting among them. If the present compilation finds favor with the public, I shall ere long bring out the rest of his speeches and minutes.

In conclusion I beg to acknowledge with thanks the valuable assistance which Kumar Ramendralala Mitra, the eldest son of the Raja, has rendered me in this compilation.

CALCUTTA,
30th January 1892.

RAJ JOGESHUR MITTER.

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In accordance with a requisition of the British Indian Association, a public meeting of the Native Inhabitants of the Bengal Presidency was held at the Hall of the Association on February 1st, 1864, at 4 P. M., *for the purpose of taking into consideration the propriety of testifying to Sir Cecil Beadon, the then Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, their sense of appreciation of his earnest desire and active endeavours to improve the agriculture and cattle of Bengal by instituting an Agricultural Exhibition in this country.*

Raja (then Baboo) Rajendralala Mittra in supporting the first Resolution said that after the eloquent address of his friend Baboo Ramgopaul Ghose, he did not wish to take up the time of the meeting with a long speech ; he would confine himself therefore to a few words in support of the Resolution that was under consideration. It was one, however, that pleaded its own cause so ably that it needed no advocacy from him. You have all, he continued, seen and admired the Agricultural Exhibition of Alipore and cannot be unconscious of the duty you owe to the good and great man whose active endeavours to promote the prosperity of this country by exciting a spirit of emulation and enterprise has borne such happy fruit. The Exhibition, Sir, has proved an eminent success. It has not only brought together from all parts of the country specimens of our agricultural produce, it has not only shewn us our resources as well as our wants, but it has also suggested the means of removing the latter. You must have all noticed that our greatest weakness lies in our dwarfed, degenerate, poverty-striken cattle. The sight of them along the banks of our noble rivers, is always a sight of woe. I have often traversed the net-work of mighty streams which intersect the Gangetic delta, and observed with sorrow the miserable herds which presented to my view. It is not

remarkable, therefore, that they should have suggested the necessity of measures for their amelioration. The subject is one of vital importance to people engaged in agricultural pursuits. Hence it is that two gentlemen of great practical experience have come forward to claim the merit of first drawing public attention to it, and suggesting the Agricultural Exhibition. It was not for him, the Baboo said, to decide to whom of right belongs the credit, but this much he would observe that more than thirty years ago the gradual degeneracy of the Bengal cattle was a subject of frequent remark, and it suggested to the Agricultural and Horticultural Society of India, in the days of its glory, the desirableness of offering premia for well-grown cows and bullocks. The exhibitions which this led to were generally successful. They brought together large numbers of cattle from different parts of the country, and many well grown Alderneys and Herfords from the farms of Brigadier Frith and other gentlemen in the neighbourhood of Calcutta. But decadence, like the cholera, was sometimes infectious. The Agricultural Society caught the infection from the cattle, and has since become a huge sham—an expensive establishment only for the growth of roses and tulips, but worthless as an agency for improving the cattle of this country (hear, hear). A new machinery was therefore necessary and "he hailed he said" in the Exhibition which had just closed—the precursor of many such—the means of improvement. Nor was improvement impracticable or even difficult. Cross-breeding in England had raised from the heavy cart horse of the country the noble racer. The same means in India had produced the magnificent teams which we see yoked to our Commissariat carts and heavy artillery; such of you gentlemen, as wish to see the like in your fields have only to send a Hurrianna or a Hissar bull to your Purgunnah at a cost of two or three hundred rupees, and in ten years your estates will abound in big, bony, powerful cattle, equally productive in the field and the dairy (hear, hear). Turning from the bovine to the equine race, you all must feel the neces-

sity of improving our *Keranchi tattoos.* Nothing could be more miserable to look at, or worthless for purposes of draft or the saddle. The beautiful colts exhibited by the Government of India, must have given you an idea of what may be done by judicious cross-breeding. The soil of Bengal is not opposed to the growth of good horses. We have land enough, and pasture enough and if we had but heart enough, for the purpose, we could at no distant day export instead of importing horse-flesh. Our sheep too, the Baboo continued, demand our attention. Eighty years ago, there was not a single sheep in Australia. English settlers were the first to bring a few of them there, and now the export trade in wool of the Southern continent amounts to two crores of rupees a year. In many parts of India we have splendid fields for sheep, and we have only to import good stock to enjoy a like return. Adverting to the implements of husbandry, he said, they were of the most primitive kind and required to be everywhere improved and altered, but he would not detain his audience with any remarks on the subject after the glowing description, his friend Baboo Ramgopaul Ghose had given of the wonders of the English machinery lately exhibited at Alipore. You all must be well aware, he continued, of the importance of agriculture in this country. India has no rich productive gold mines, nor has it any of silver ; our iron mines are as yet scarcely able to supply the wants of the districts where they exist, and our diamond mines have ceased to be productive. Our manufacturing resources are equally poor, and the looms which once clothed the Cæsars of Rome are now replaced by howling deserts, the abodes of tigers. But our fields are our mines and our manufactures ; they are our Golconda ; they are our Australia and California ; they are our Newcastle and Manchester (repeated cheers). That they are so I can prove to you by a single fact. The greatest yield of gold in Australia has seldom exceeded eight crores of Rupees in value, but here we hope in course of the current year to clear no less than forty crores by a single article, and that article is cotton. Thus our

cotton is five times superior to gold. Our oil seeds, our fibres, our indigo, our rice and our silks are, if not equally still, highly productive, and the man who helps to improve their quality and their quantity deserves better of us than he who will give us half a dozen gold mines. Such a man, gentlemen, is the Hon'ble Cecil Beadon. He has evinced by his earnest endeavours to improve the agriculture and cattle of Bengal ; the deep interest he takes in the material well-being of the teeming millions placed under his rule. To him therefore our warmest acknowledgments are eminently due. So are they to Mr. Grote, the learned President, and the other members of the Executive Committee who have so ably and zealously responded to the call of our Lieutenant-Governor to ensure success to the great work. The Resolution proposed, therefore, is in every way worthy of your approbation, and I doubt not you will adopt it with acclamation. There is one thing however to which I wish to allude before I conclude ; it is the gratification I feel to notice the intelligent interest that my countrymen have evinced towards this Exhibition. District after district has sent handsome contributions to promote its object, and some of the noblest of the land have come forward to compete for prizes. It has often been said by our enemies that the natives of this country, blinded by social distinctions and caste prejudices, know not how to appreciate the value of agriculture. Had such been the case we would not have seen thousands over thousands of respectable men coming down from various parts of India to behold their own agricultural produce, or the gratifying sight of men like the Nawab Nazim of Bengal, the Maharaja of Vizianagram, Raja Deonarain Sing and Rajah Protab Chunder Sing, coming forward to exhibit bullocks and rice, and cotton, and chillies. The spirit of these men pervades the minds of many of our intelligent Zemindars, and I have no doubt that future Exhibitions will bring them forward and help largely to develop the resources of my native land.

A VOTE OF ADDRESS TO LORD HALIFAX.

The Committee of the British Indian Association convened a public meeting of the Native Inhabitants of the Bengal Presidency at the Hall of the Association on Saturday the 21st April 1866 at 4 P. M., *for the purpose of expressing their regret at the resignation of the Right Hon'ble Viscount Halifax of the Office of Secretary of State and of recording their high sense of appreciation of and admiration for his wise, impartial and beneficent administration of India.*

Raja (then Baboo) Rajendralala Mittra in supporting the first Resolution said : He had been asked to say a few words on the subject of the Resolution which had been proposed and seconded, and he readily complied with the wish of his friends, as it was a great pleasure to him to take a part in the business of the day, and as the task assigned him was by no means a difficult one. The Resolution spoke so well for itself, and it had been so well supported by the eloquent speech of the mover that it needed no advocacy from him. It was one eminently worthy of his countrymen and of the nobleman to whom they had assembled to do honor. It indicated arduous and important duties most faithfully and most ably performed on the one side, and a high feeling of gratitude on the other. It has often been said, he continued, that our addresses are not the genuine outpourings of our heart, but that they are the result of official dread and influence, or of favouring sycophancy ; and it is not to be denied, however offensive it may be, countrymen, to your sense of self-respect, that such has sometimes been the case. It is not to be denied that eighty years ago when some men of the last generation gave addresses to that infamous governor and bad man, the late Warren Hastings, they acted in the hands of intriguers and thought not at all of justice, propriety of self-respect. When those addresses were brought to the notice of

Mr. Bruke, he very aptly observed that such was the dread excited in the minds of the people of India by the name of Mr. Hastings that they would subscribe to any thing to get rid of him from their country. Nor do I remember to have read a finer or more pointed reply than that of the gifted Orator to those who wanted to prove that Hastings was loved by the people of Bengal, because they had dedicated a temple to him at Benares. He said that he knew something of the mythology of the Brahmins. He knew that as they worshipped some gods from love, so they worshipped others from fear. He knew that they erected shrines not only to the benignant deities of light and plenty, but also to the friends, who preside over smallpox and murder. Nor did he dispute the claim of Mr. Hastings to be admitted into such a pantheon. And what was said of Hastings, may be said of many others, for certain it is that several who have received addresses in later times, had no better claims than the despoiler of the Begums of Oudh to a niche in the temple of native opinion. It is notorious that some addresses have been given from the most nefarious motives, and others from a psychological weakness commonly known by the name of "eye-shame." One peculiarity however characterized all those addresses; they were never allowed to see the light until they had done their duty. They were prompted in private, got up in private, and presented in private. But, gentlemen, the Resolution which has been proposed has nothing of that private characters about it. Here we are assembled publicly, after repeated advertisements in the public papers, to discuss openly and publicly the propriety of recording it. I say, we are assembled, countrymen, men of all ranks and stations in life, the young, the old, and the middle-aged, by one common and spontaneous impulse, to take our part in a public manifestation of our respect and gratitude, and I challenge contradictions. Let those who differ from the sentiments expressed in the Resolution, come forward and give the reason for the difference, and I warrant them every consideration. Let them but shew that the Resolu-

tion is undeserved, and we are ready to reject it. But perhaps this protestation is not called for. The career of the British Indian Association for the last fourteen years is an ample guarantee that this meeting has not been convened with any sinister motive, and I am satisfied that from your personal knowledge of the administrations of Sir Charles Wood you will most heartily subscribe to the Resolution. Sir, our country has but recently passed through a tremendous convulsion—a rising of malcontent soldiers against constituted authority—a war of anarchy against established Government. In that war some of the worst passions of the human mind were brought into foul play. The flood-gates of treason were thrown wide open, and crime in all its enormity stalked through the land. On the one side Nana Sahibs and Azimoollas and the other monsters of iniquity hacked and murdered without distinction of age and sex, and on the other the call for indiscriminate retribution was loud and fearful. Then it was that Lord Canning stood forth as the champion of Justice to punish the guilty, to spare the innocent, and to reward the faithful, and by a wise policy of concilliation and mercy suppressed the wide-spread Mutiny of 1857. A large share of the credit of his success is due to Sir Charles Wood. On him devolved the momentous duty of reconstructing the machinery of Government and of restoring peace and order. How ably and how successfully he achieved that work is testified by the progress and prosperity that now smile on the land. He knew us to be aliens in language, creed and color; he had never seen our country; and not unoften heard us described by our enemies; but he rarely forgot our claims as men and as children of the soil. He always remembered that if rebels and mutineers numbered by thousands, the faithful numbered by millions, and he made a wise discrimination between the two classes. In short he held strict and impartial justice to be his guide, and he followed it steadfastly, swerving neither to the right nor to the left.

Hence it is that he readily admitted the claims of the natives

to seats in the Imperial Legislature, and to his sense of justice we owe the opportunity which enabled the late Sadagopa Charloo and my late lamented friend Baboo Roma Proshad Roy to shew what distinguished parts the Hindus can take in the act of legislation. The time has not yet come when the full benefit of the measure can be enjoyed by us, but the able advocacy of your interest in the Bengal Council by my honor'ble friend opposite (Baboo Degumber Mitter) is an earnest of what you may expect if your representatives be judicially selected. The admission of natives to the High Court of the different Presidencies is another important measure of Sir Charles for which we are much beholden to him. But there is one point in his character to which I wish to draw your particular attention. Constituted as the British Indian Government is, the greatest danger to which we are liable is the likelihood of those who are at the helm of the State to mistake the good of a few for the good of many, and hence it is that it is of the most vital importance that we should always impress upon our rulers that great principle of Government—the greatest good of the greatest number. Sir Charles never forgot it for a moment.

There is a knowledge that autocrats most dread, and subject races most envy, but nations, whether subject or free, have all a right, an indisputable and unalienable right to that knowledge; it is a knowledge of the character and conduct of their rulers. Living under the benign rule of our Gracious Sovereign, Queen Victoria, you have all exercised that right, and acting up to your knowledge, often given free vent to your opinions and feelings. I have myself exercised that right in my small and humble way for the last five and twenty years, and I now place the result of my observation of Sir Charles Wood's administration before you. It may be said that I am a servant of Government and therefore not a disinterested witness. A servant—a faithful servant—of Government I am, and am proud of it. But I am not the less a citizen, and defy my worst enemies to say that I have ever been wanting in an honest straightforward

expression of my opinion ; and I have no hesitation in assuring you that you have had few rulers who have dealt with you more honestly or more impartially. Countrymen, the respect and admiration you cherish for a Bentinck and a Canning, are also due to a Halifax, and you do well in thus openly expressing them. Sir Charles is no longer at the head of the India House, and the natives of this country have no longer any expectation of good from him, except what he can render as a Member of the Upper House. His career as an Indian Minister has ceased, and we are now in a position to judge of his administration without fear or favor, and we do but our duty in recording our verdict. It is not my intention to take up your time or of those who will follow me in addressing you, with a survey of the different acts of his Government ; or to tell you of the justice, liberality and wisdom, which characterise his measures regarding the Permanent Settlement of the North West, the education of the masses, the settlement of Oudh, the protection of the ryots, the sale of Waste Land, the finances of the country and the encouragement to commerce. You are familiar with them all, and I have only, therefore, to invite you to accord to the Resolution your hearty support and thereby testify the high praise which is due to the Viscount Halifax for his manifold services to the people of this country.

RAJA SIR RADHAKANT BAHADOOR MEMORIAL MEETING.

Pursuant to advertisement, a public meeting of the friends and admirers of the late Rajah Sir Radhakant Bahadoor took place in the Hall of the British Indian Association on Tuesday the 14th May 1867 at 5 P. M. *The meeting was attended by representatives of all classes of the community.*

Raja (then Baboo) Rajendralala Mittra in seconding the first Resolution said: When I consider how well the Resolution of the day speaks for itself, how congenial it is to your feelings, and how eloquently and appropriately it has been set before you by my learned and respected friend, the mover, I feel that I need say nothing to recommend it to you. There are few in this hall who knew not the venerable Raja to mourn whose death we have here assembled, and who knowing would deny that we do well thus publicly to give expression to our high sense of the services rendered by him to our country. It is right that we should so meet, and it is proper that we should extol the virtues of those who have done well by us. Respect for the dead has been a characteristic of man in all ages and in every state of society, and it is eminently due to those who have been benefactors to their race. It is a tribute to worth which it should be our pride, as it is our duty to pay. Even in an utilitarian—a low utilitarian—sense it is of use, for it does more good to the living than it can possibly do to those who have passed away from among us. The memory of Raja Radhakant has high claims to this tribute. Several of you, gentlemen, and foremost of all you, Mr. Chairman, can, from your earlier and more intimate acquaintance with the late Raja, speak more fully on those claims, than I can, but I cannot forget that even I had the privilege of his friendship for more than five and twenty years, and I have not been a careless observer of his brilliant career.

Of the early history of the Raja I know not much, and all that I could say on the subject has been already anticipated by Baboo Romanauth Tagore. At the time when Raja Radhakant was a boy, school education was held unbecoming the rank of the higher classes of the people, and there was no school in existence, save a few patshalas of the most primitive type ; but the worthy father of the Raja had seen enough of Englishmen to be able fully to appreciate the advantage of schools, and he overcame the difficulty in his way by sending his son to an English Academy. Provision was at the same time made at home for his tuition in Arabic, Persian and the vernaculars, and nothing was wanting to secure for him an education befitting his high position in life. Nor was he unworthy of the care that was taken for him. Active, intelligent, well disposed, and of retentive memory, he devoted himself most earnestly to his books, and benefitted largely from the training he received from his tutors. The advantage he derived at Mr. Cumming's Academy impressed on him the importance of school education over that given at home, and he devoted his life strenuously and zealously to encourage the diffusion of schools on the English model over the country. It was quite unusual in those days for sons of Rajas and men of rank to accept office, but Radhakant was deterred by no such consideration. He became the Secretary of the School Society—an institution projected by the late David Hare to promote the education of the people through the medium of public schools. In this capacity he laboured hard and effected many radical changes in our system of popular education. He had several schools placed under him ; he visited them often ; did much to extend the sphere of their usefulness, and compiled Primers and Readers, for the use of the pupils—the first of the kind in our language. He took an important part also in founding the Hindu College of which he was an active and most painstaking Governor for the long period of four and thirty years. On his retirement from the office the General Committee of Public Instruction recorded a resolution expressive of its high sense

of his services to the cause of native education. Nor did he confine his attention to the education of the boys only ; the intellectual condition of the females of the country early attracted his notice, and, in the language of the late Hon'ble Mr. Bethune, to him belongs the credit of being the first native of India "who in modern times, has pointed out the folly and wickedness of allowing women to grow up in utter ignorance." In his house was seen for the first time in the history of this country the happy sight of the pupils of girls' schools assembled to receive prizes for successful prosecution of their studies. In this respect he brought about a consummation for which he deserves our highest praise. Again, as a leader and representative of the Hindu community he commanded the respect of all his countrymen by his moderation, his urbanity and the thorough rectitude of his character. As the President of the British Indian Association he will be long remembered for his earnestness and zeal for the good of the community at large. He was the chairman of every public meeting, and foremost in every movement for the social, moral, and political amelioration of our race. He may not have been all that some so-called reformers of our day could wish. He may have placed himself in opposition to many of them. A Hindu brought up in the faith of his ancestors he may have set his face against infantile and juvenile conversions ; he certainly objected to the slaughter of the cow, and strongly reprobated licentious indulgence in spirituous liquors, which to many appear as the stepping stone to reformation. But, Sir, he never offered opposition to any measure of real usefulness ; and had nothing of the bigotry of a partizan. He was no enemy to real reformers. He found no fault with those who dissected the human body in the Medical College. He subscribed as freely to the fund for sending native youths to England to prosecute their studies in medicine as for any orthodox undertaking. In this respect he has set us a noble example and I cannot but accord to him the highest praise for the moderation with which he exercised the unlimited influence which he had over Hindu

Society. He would not—and what right-minded man would ?—surrender the liberty of his conscience to others ; but he had nothing of the character of those who—themselves an insignificant minority—would, in the fullness of their own liberty ride rough-shod over the conscience of a whole race. I can fully appreciate—I yield to none in a proper appreciation of—liberality of sentiment ; but I cannot understand the liberality of those who in the fervour of their own liberality would be the most intolerant of oppressors to those who may happen to differ from them in opinion. Raja Radhakant, though a thorough orthodox Hindu, was none of them ; and I have no doubt you will all agree with me that he was as tolerant a Hindu gentleman as he well could be. On his strict honesty, perfect sincerity, and thorough uprightness I could dwell for hours, but you know them as well as I do. As a man of fascinating and popular manners he had no equal, and justly did Sir Lawrence Peel, Chief Justice of the late Supreme Court, say that "he was a pattern of gentlemanliness which we would all do well to imitate." But I must now pass on to say a few words on his scholarship. It is a matter of regret that Sanskrit learning is not held in sufficient estimation in our day, and Raja Radhakant's services in the case of the ancient classics of our country may not, therefore, be duly appreciated by many ; but as an humble labourer in the field of Indian literature I beg to assure you, gentlemen, that those services are of the highest order. The Raja was no genius—no gifted man. Scholarship did not come to him of its own accord. He could not say "he lisped in numbers for the numbers came." No more for him than for others was there a royal road to knowledge. He had to work his way like any other man. He was born in wealth and affluence, but he did not like others in his circumstances spend his time and wealth in ease and enjoyment ; he adopted the hard life of a scholar, and devoted a whole lifetime to the cultivation of our ancient literature. It was by dint of unremitting labour of years—of protracted labour of forty long years,—that he produced the

great work of his life the *Sabdakulpadrama* which has been the theme of praise to all who have seen it. But Sir, you need not accept my assurance on trust. Those who are best able to weigh the importance of literary productions, who are the great guardians of the republic of letters and who bestow praise with the greatest discrimination, I mean the learned societies of Europe, were the first to recognise the merits of the Raja's lexicon, and not slow in giving expression to their sense of its value. The Imperial Academy of St. Petersburgh, the Royal Academy of Berlin, the Kaiserlichen Academy of Vienna, the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain, the Oriental Societies of Germany and America, the Asiatic Society of Paris, and the Royal Society of Northern antiquities, sent him diplomas of honorary or corresponding membership. Those are testimonies the value of which can never be shaken. Again, princes in Europe impressed by a high sense of the Raja's scholarship forwarded to him handsome tokens of their approbation. The late Czar of Russia and the King Frederick VII. of Denmark sent him medals, and our own gracious Sovereign conferred on him the jewel of Her Order of the Exalted Star of India ; and these favors would never have come had not the great cyclopædia been worthy of them. Raja Radhakant is now no more. He has died in the fulness of time esteemed by kings and scholars, and respected by all who knew him. But his work remains, and as long as the Sanskrit language will be cultivated, so long will it endure as a splendid repratory of our ancient literature, and a noble monument of his devotion to the cause of letters.

VERNACULAR EDUCATION.

At the Sixteenth Annual General Meeting of the British Indian Association which was held in their own Hall on Thursday, the 27th February, 1868, Raja (then Baboo) Rajendralala Mittra spoke as follows on the subject of Vernacular Education :—

Raja (then Baboo) Rajendralala Mittra was glad that the question of vernacular education had been mooted by his honorable friend Kumar Hurrendra Krishna. For five and thirty years it had, off and on, engaged public attention in India, and given rise to many and very warm discussions ; and certain movements showed that it was, in the opinion of some, still an open question. On it satisfactory solution depended the intellectual well-being of the whole Hindu nation, and as such it was a very proper subject for the consideration of the British Indian Association. As regards the Calcutta University, the question had been disposed of, at least for a time, by the very sensible Resolution which had been adopted by the Syndicate with reference to Mr. George Smith's proposition to affiliate purely Vernacular Schools to the University, and bestow honorary degrees for high Oriental Scholarship. But in the North-West it was still open, and he (Baboo Rajendralala) was sorry that the members of the British Indian Association of Allyghur had taken so mistaken a view of the subject. At first sight a purely vernacular education has so many points of attraction, and such vast advantages to recommend itself over one through the medium of a foreign tongue, that few can resist its influence. For the masses, it was unquestionably the only medium through which the light of knowledge could enter their minds. For those who had to begin life and buffet the world for existence at a tender age, the language they imbibe with their mother's milk is no doubt by

far the best vehicle for learning. Language was but the means to an end, and not the end itself; and it is the merest truism to say, the Baboo continued, that that means is the cheapest and best which is easiest acquired; and as the vernacular is learned when a child can learn nothing else, as it grows with his growth, and matures with his age, it is certainly the cheapest instrument for learning. All other circumstances being equal, the man who uses it will for certain far excel him who has to devote ten long years to acquire a foreign language. But the circumstances are not in all cases equal. The average time which the lower orders in Europe can devote to education is scarcely four years; in many places it is not even full three years. In India many things conspire to render even three years too long a period for study; and our small farmers and artizans and ryots must, for a long time to come, rest satisfied with a very short period. Within that short period we must give them the elements of such knowledge as we can, and the medium must necessarily be the vernacular. But these classes and the subjects they can learn, can have nothing to do with universities. Their concern is with village schools and easy primers. Those who think of universities, think not of a curriculum of two or three years. They have to make up their minds for a much longer and more arduous course of studies. In Europe, with the vernacular for the medium of learning, none can think of presenting himself for admission into a university before the fifteenth year of his life, which implies a preliminary training of from 8 to 10 years at least. It is true, that training includes the study of two ancient languages, but no university education can be perfect which excludes from its curriculum the intellectual exercise derivable from the study of the ancient classics. The Baboo did not deny that theoretically it is possible to translate into any one vernacular language the whole literature of a richer one; but the question was not the translation of the science and literature of one language into another, but the conversion of the whole English scientific literature of the day into many scores of imperfect

languages and half-formed dialects—into the Santal, the Cole, the Bheel, and the Abor dialects as well as into the Bengali, the Hindvi, the Uria, the Guzrati, and the Dravidian languages. Vast, no doubt, were the resources of the British Indian Government, but even they would prove inadequate for such a purpose, except in course of time, which must be measured not by years, but by centuries. But supposing that this could be accomplished within a reasonable time, and that Hamlet in Santali would be no burlesque, the result still would be unsatisfactory. The M. A. versed in the Santal version of English books would be but a miserable counterpart of his brother of the London University, for there are advantages in the study of ancient and foreign languages, which never can be secured by the aid of translations, and no University education can be perfect which confines itself to a single vernacular. One of the richest literatures extant on earth in the present day is the English ; but were the Universities of England this day to confine themselves to English alone, their graduates would stand but a sorry comparison with the scholars of France and Germany, and the civilization of England would be thrown back by at least two centuries. With the Indians, divided into many groups by differences of language, religion, and social institutions, the case would be infinitely worse. They can never acquire equal rank with Europeans if they will not study, and that thorougly, at least one of the three leading languages of Europe, the English, the French, or the German ; and their civilization must remain of the lower order. The Hindus pride themselves in being a highly intellectual race : their ancestors were the pioneers of civilization in India ; and the sciences, the literature, and the arts of the ancient world owe their origin to them ; and if they are to maintain their pre-eminence, it is not by the lurid light of a few translated school books, but by the broad sunshine of European literature in its integrity. They must drink deep at the fountain head, and not satisfy themselves with an impure muddy stream far away from its source. It is true the vernacularists of

the present day do not deny the necessity of reading English ; they maintain that it should be learnt as a language only and the sciences should be learnt through the medium of the vernacular. But their profession is not in keeping with their prayer, for they demand a vernacular university where true science and true history can be taught in the vernacular only. Admitting, however, that they are not opposed to the study of English, it is obvious that they do not wish to teach it to the extent that it is now taught in Bengal ; and in so doing, they propose to sacrifice the best interests of the people for a phantom. For even if our literature were as rich as that of England, still our political condition would render a thorough knowledge of the English an absolute necessity. The greatest Moulavi, grey with the accumulated treasures of a lifetime devoted to the study of Arabic, the hoary sage who has got through the learned lore of the Maha Bhashya and the hymns of the Rig Veda, the M. A. in Hindvi, and the L. L. D. in Ahom, will find their learning stand in sorry stead for earning a living without a competent knowledge of the English language. If we are, said the Baboo, to eschew interpreters, and ourselves to represent our wants and feelings, our grievances and prayers, to the rulers of the country ; if it is an object that members of our community should enter the Civil Service ; if it is an honorable ambition in our young men to enter the Bar and hold their own against Barristers from Inns of Courts ; if it is desirable that our medical men should stand on even ground with their European brethren ; if India is to produce her Arkwrights and Stephensons, we must know English as thoroughly as Englishmen. As matters now stand, the portals to all those objects have an only key, and that is the "open sesame" of the English tongue. Without it, we must, even with all the letters of the English alphabet for our titles, stand outside the arena of wealth, honour, and distinction. M. A. and B. L. are good things in their way ; but fancy a B. L. in Uria practising in the High Court of Calcutta ! Would any sane man hand him a brief, even if he offered his services gratis ?

You are all anxious to see your children appear at the competitive examination for entering the Civil Service; but can you send them to England for the purpose, if you are not satisfied that they are intellectually and by education equal to English candidates? Are the natives of this country ambitious of distinguishing themselves as Principal Sudder Ameens, Sudder Ameens, Deputy Magistrates, Deputy Collectors, or Extra Assistant Commissioners? If they are, they must command a thorough knowledge of the English language, or they can never rise in the Service. True, some few have had the honour of a seat in the Supreme Legislative Council without knowing English; but with rare exceptions, they proved there more ornamental than useful; and for all practical purposes, their pictures there would have stood in good stead. It may be all very well to descant upon the Bengal system of education; but that system has produced men fit for the Bench of the High Court, which the vernacular system of the North-West has yet failed to do. They say that our Bengal system tends to Anglicise us. If they mean thereby that we learn to think like Englishmen, to act like Englishmen, to exert our best to import into our country all that is good and great among Englishmen; if they mean that we try to make our civilization progressive like that of Englishmen; that we wish our countrymen should rise above the idols of custom and prejudice; that we long for the day when they should rend assunder the bonds of ignorance and priest-craft, I plead guilty to the charge, and most devoutly wish that every man in India may think and act like us, and be guilty in the same way. But if by Anglicism be meant an insensate aversion to all that is indigenous,—a neglect of our language and our country; if it be meant that by learning English we denationalise ourselves, I repel the charge as false and calumnious. *A priori* it would be absurd to say that the poetry of Shakespear and Milton, the philosophy of Bacon, Stewart, and Reid, the science of Newton and Herschel, and Faraday, would make men forget their duty to their nation; but I shall appeal to facts. Twenty years ago a

young man, brought up in the late Hindoo College, in his zeal for religious reform, discarded the creed of his forefathers, and left the land of his birth to find an asylum among Englishmen in a distant country, where, with an English wife and English-speaking children, and English friends and neighbours, he passed many years of his life without even uttering a word of Bengali. He is now amongst us as the originator of blank verse in Bengali, and the greatest Bengali poet living. The muse of Dante in Italy inspired him to write sonnets, not in English, to which he had devoted the best past of his existence, not in French or Italian, or Latin or Greek, with all which he is familiar, but in the language which he had lisped in his mother's lap, and which they say we learn to despise by acquiring English. I need scarcely tell you that the gentleman I allude to is Mr. Madhusudana Datta. One of the first B. A's of the Calcutta University, Baboo Bunkim Chunder Chatterjee, is the greatest novelist in Bengali. Our best prose-writer is a pandit, but not one of the old school whose lives are devoted to the study of Sanskrit, and Sanskrit only, but one who improved his Sanskrit by a liberal study of the English language and literature. That pandit is Iswarachandra Vidyasagara. The most successful vernacular Editor again is a pandit who, like Vidyasagara, polished his Sanskrit and Bengali by a familiar knowledge of the English tongue. I will not take up your time by naming others, men like Akshayakumar Datta and Rangalala Banerji, who have enriched the Bengali language by their writings, and who have been able to do so because their education included the whole course of English literature. Suffice it to say that the best books in the Bengali language are all due to men who have acquired a superior knowledge of the English language, and the number of those books is far greater than the vernacularists of the North-West have ever produced. We produce about twice as many books in Bengali every year as they do in the North-West, and yet we are accused of getting Anglicised and neglecting our vernacular! Adverting to the state of education in

Bengal, the Baboo said, he was free to confess that education in Bengal had not yet permeated the massess ; but that is not owing to any defect of the system which assigns the vernacular for the masses, and English and vernacular to the middle and higher classes, but to the limited resources of the Education Department. Though the richest province in the British Indian Empire, Bengal gets the smallest grant from the State for the education of the people. Its revenue is 16 crores a year and its educational expenses does not exceed one per cent. : if this could be remedied, and Government would afford adequate aid for the expansion of educational operations, the study of English would in no way interfere with placing the rudiments of knowledge within the reach of the poorest classes.

In conclusion the Baboo said : one word more, and I shall be done. It is said that we cry for English because we wish to have a monopoly of the loaves and fishes—or rather of the crumbs—which Government bestow on the people of this country. Had this been our object, we should most strenuously urge our friends of the North West to abjure English, and stick to the vernacular ; that would be the surest way of keeping them away from every situation in the gift of Government. But it is because we wish that natives, whether Beharies or Punjabies, or Agurwallahs,—whether born in the Doab or Nagpore, or Oudh,—should enjoy the benefits of service under Government equally with the people of Bengal, and go hand in hand with us in our efforts to ameliorate the condition of our race, that I call on our friends of Allyghur to pause and consider before they renounce the study of English, and thereby compromise the best interests of their community.

THE HON'BLE PROSSUNNO COOMAR TAGORE MEMORIAL MEETING.

Pursuant to the Requisition of the British Indian Association a public meeting of the friends and admirers of the late Hon'ble Prossunno Coomar Tagore C.S.I., was held at the Hall of the Association on Thursday the 29th October 1868 at 4 P. M.

Raja (then Baboo) Rajendralala Mitra, in seconding the first Resolution, said: The Resolution moved spoke so well for itself, and it had been so well and so eloquently set before the meeting by the learned Chairman that it was superfluous for him to say any thing in support of it. And yet there were times when repetition of what was even well-known and familiar was sweet to indulgent ears, and those of the friends and admirers who had assembled at the meeting to give expresssion to their feeling of regard and admiration for the lamented deceased, could not but be the most indulgent. It was a custom with the ancient Egyptians, on the occasion of a funeral, to assemble, on an appointed day, forty-two Judges on the sacred lake of Nome, before whom the public discussed the merits and demerits of the dead, and the customary sepulture was regulated by the result of the trial. Under ordinary circumstances such a custom, in our day, would be an intolerable nuisance. But in the case of those who have great power and influence and wealth and opportunities given them for doing good to their fellow-men such a trial would not be without its advantages. Like the human skull in the banqueting room of the Emperor, it would be a warning to them of their duty, and of their accountability to their Maker, which could not fail to be beneficial. Nor were memorial meetings other than modern adaptations of the old Egyptian trial. In them the public assembled to sit in judgment over the earthly career of the dead, to weigh well their good deeds and their evil ones, and to strike a balance to shew whether

the memory of the departed was worthy of our admiration or of our execration. In the case of the good and great, such meetings have a higher advantage ; they enable us, as in the instance under notice, to hold communion, in spirit, with those who have ceased to be amidst us, but have not ceased to claim our affectionate veneration. There were few, the Baboo continued, whom he had then the honor to address who, having had the pleasure of the late Baboo Prossunno Coomar Tagore's intimacy, would not gladly give rein to his memory to dwell on it over and over again. Although Baboo Rajendralala never had occasion to receive, nor ever to ask, from him a single favor of any consequence, he had enjoyed his intimacy for eight and twenty years, and he thanked that wonderful elasticity of Hindu relationship which converts neighbours and friends to kith and kin (*hear ! hear !*) that his intimacy had matured into the relationship of uncle and nephew and it is natural, he said, that he should, under the circumstances, wish to dwell fondly on the reminiscence of his friendship.

Of the early life of the lamented deceased Baboo Rajendralala said he knew but little, and even that little he did not wish to bring to the notice of the meeting. The most important event of boyhood was education, and he was glad to say that Baboo Prosunna Coomar had as good an education as people at the time could command. As one of the earliest students of the Hindu College he had acquired great proficiency in the English language and literature, and claimed a respectable knowledge of the Persian, Urdu and the Sanskrit languages. But law was the special field in which he was destined to shine the most, and to it he devoted his earnest attention from a very early period of his life. How well-rewarded have been his labours in that field, is attested by the collosal fortune he has left behind him. Nor did the benefit of his legal lore centre in him alone. The country at large benefited most extensively by it. It was his eminent abilities as a lawyer and his high influence in society that enabled him to clear the Augean stable of the late Sudder

Court and remove some of the most serious obstacles that lay in the path of even-handed justice. Before his time, pleading in this country was rewarded, as aptly described by the national poet Bharatchandra by more kicks than fees. The man who got *choopraoed* and not *choop rao soored* was a lucky pleader. Babu Prossunno Coomar was the first who got this monstrous evil removed from court, and prepared the way for the honors which his successors have since so nobly earned. In after-life, when he had retired from the Bar, he placed the mature fruit of his legal lore and vast experience at the service of his country, free of cost. There has not since been a single case of any importance in which his opinion was not sought, and in which it was not freely and most readily given. Indeed, no man had any confidence in his own case until he had the assurance of Babu Prossunno Coomar, and so great was the anxiety to get his opinion that people travelled hundreds of miles from the farthest parts of India for the purpose of getting it, and they were never disappointed.

Nor was Babu Prossunno Coomar satisfied with benefiting his countrymen by gratuitious advice. Following in the wake of that truly good and great man, the late Raja Rammohun Roy and his equally distinguished colleague the late Babu Dwarkanath Tagore, he interested himself in every movement, whether social, or moral, intellectual or political, that had the good of the community for its object, and did eminent service in every instance. Whether as a hereditary Governor of the Hindu College, or the Secretary of the late Landholders' Association, or one of the founders and members of the British Indian Association, he was always busily employed in the service of his country, and everywhere he identified his own interests with that of his countrymen. A remarkable instance of this was once afforded at a meeting of the Imperial Council where, in reply to an Hon'ble member, who remarked that the obnoxious clauses of the Arms Bill would not apply to men like Babu Prossunno Coomar, he said, "I ask no advantage that is to be denied to

my countrymen. I rise or fall with them."

The history of the Landholders' Association may not, the Baboo thought, be familiar to some of his hearers, and its name might raise suspicions in their mind as to the catholicity of its purpose. But he assured the meeting that it was a most useful institution. He looked upon it as the pioneer of freedom in this country. It gave to the people the first lesson in the art of fighting constitutionally for their rights, and taught them manfully to assert their claims, and give expression to their opinions. Ostensibly it advocated the rights of the Zemindars, but as their rights are intimately bound up with those of the ryots, the one cannot be separated from the other. What is truly good for the one, is equally so for the other; and what is bad for the zemindar is also bad for the ryot. But however that was, it was certain that the great agitation which the Landholders' Association carried on anent the resumption operations of Government it benefited the owners of small holdings—the ryots—a great deal more than the big Zemindar; and for that benefit the people of this country were largely indebted to the gentleman whose death they had assembled to mourn. Adverting to the services rendered by Baboo Prossunno Coomar to the British Indian Association, Baboo R. Mitra said that they were so fresh in the memory of his hearers that he need not long expatiate on them, but he could not omit to mention that it was to Baboo Prossunno Coomar that the Association was mainly indebted for a local habitation.

One remarkable characteristic of the late Babu Prossunno Coomar was, he continued, was his memory. In that small head of that little great man were stored, in the most systematic order, a vast mass of most varied information. Did one require the date of a particular Government letter? or the number of a particular section of a particular law? or the chapter and verse of some obscure old Smriti? the Babu had them all arranged on the tablets of his memory, and none could refer to more ready or more infallible an Index. The whole history of British ad-

ministration in India, from the most important facts down to the smallest minutiæ was at his fingers' end, and you could not have a better referee on the subjects. To prove this, Baboo Rajendralala referred his hearers to the enormous mass of letters and reports and memoranda which Baboo Prossunno Coomar had submitted to Government, to the Board of Revenue, and the late Sudder Court, and which shewed the extent, the depth, and the versatile character of his knowledge and experience, and the value which the Government set on them, and the frequency with which he was consulted for their sake.

It would be supposed that his multifarious public business would leave him little leisure for literary occupation, but it was not in the nature of Baboo Prossunno Coomar to leave so important a source of intellectual gratification untried. He wrote much, and read more; and many portly volumes in Bengali and English, such as the translation of the *Vivada Chintamani*, the Commentary on the Rent Law, and his *Vyavastha Patra* attest the zeal and ability with which he laboured in the field of authorship. At the same time he was a liberal patron of learning and learned men, and a great number of Sanskrit books were published under his patronage.

"I must now," continued Baboo Rajendralala, "turn my attention to another chapter in the history of his life, and scrutinise his services as a social reformer. I must admit that he was certainly not an ultra go-ahead-at-any-price progressionist. He did not, as others have done for the sake of religion, or love, or trowsers, or tail coats, rush forward, leaving their countrymen far behind; men who have been cast away as sloughs from the bulk of the community, on whom their precepts have proved as nil, and their examples something less, if I may use the Hibernicism. Baboo Prossunno Coomar was so to say a liberal conservative or a moderate progressionist. He wished and laboured hard to move onwards, but not to go alone, leaving his nation behind. He wanted to advance, and did advance pulling his countrymen along with him. He knew that reformation to

be real should proceed from within, and not from without ; he knew that it should emanate from the mind, and not be superposed on the body ; he knew that it should be a revolution of feeling, and not of dress, and to effect it he remained with the people, and tried to leaven the whole mass by his precepts and example, which operated with all the greater force and effect because they came from one of the people.

I am bound to confess that Baboo Prossunno Coomar had his faults ; but they were not of a character to detract materially from his sterling merits. He had his faults, and who has not ? Let him who is pure cast the first stone, and it will be time then to defend the memory of the dead. We should not, at any rate, forget that the brightest light has its shadow, and even the sun is not without its spots. He was unfortunate too in his domestic relations ; but his servants supplied the place of his children, and he rewarded their devotion by parental kindness and by legacies the like of which no Hindu has ever given. His charities were also of a princely character ; and as long as the dispensary, the alms house, and the Sanskrit College at Mulajore and the noble endowment in the Presidency College will last, so long we may say *monumenta manebunt*." (*Loud applause* !)

THE EDUCATION QUESTION.

Pursuant to notice, a public meeting of the inhabitants of Bengal was held at the Town Hall on Saturday the 2nd July, 1870, at 3 P. M., *for the purpose of considering the propriety of memorializing the Secretary of State on the subject of the withdrawal of State aid from English education. More than two thousand persons were present, and all classes of the native community were represented on the occasion.*

Raja (then Baboo) Rajendralala Mittra in seconding the first Resolution said that, as the question of what should be the proper medium of education had once again been revived, it was well that his countrymen had thought fit publicly to give expression to their opinion and wishes in regard to it. And it was highly gratifying to notice from the proceedings, laid on the table, of the several numerously attended and respectable meetings that had lately been held in different parts of this province and the deputations that had been sent to the Calcutta meeting, the perfect unanimity which prevailed among the Hindu community in the Mofussil on this most important subject. It was the more gratifying to observe that the high and the low, the rich and the poor, the twice-born Brahman and the degraded washerman, the urban and the rustic, were all of one accord. Every man who was able to think was of opinion that the moral and material advancement of the people depended on a wide diffusion of European knowledge in the country. Nor had that opinion been formed by the sight of sundry crusts and crumbs which had fallen from the official table to the lot of a fortunate few—a mere drop in the ocean—but after a careful survy of the condition and the most urgent wants of Bengali Society. In Calcutta that opinion was arrived at more than half a century ago, when the people so warmly seconded the exertion of that great philanthropist David Hare, to establish the late Hindu College, and

hundreds of boys crowded the forms of that institution. A few years subsequently one of the noblest of the Hindu race, the late Raja Rammohun Roy, heartily joined the Anglicists and raised his powerful voice against the mistaken orientalists of the period ; and there has not been a single instance since that time in which an intelligent man of Bengal had demurred to the diffusion of the Western languages and literature in his native land. This universal unanimity, spoke for itself, and needed no comment. It settled the question definitively as regards the people of this country. It may appear strange, continued the Babu, that at a time when the brave and patriotic Poles are exerting their utmost to defend their national language which has been assailed at the point of the bayonet by an inexorable autocrat, we here should cry for a foreign tongue when our kind-hearted rulers wish to diffuse the blessings of education through the vernaculars of our country. But, Sir, in Poland the vernacular is of the highest political importance ; it is the great bond of union ; it holds the people together as distinct from the other races of Europe ; it preserves for them the annals of all that is dear to them, and contains a store of literature and science fully sufficient for all their requirements. Our vernaculars, on the other hand, (and we have many where the Poles have only one) are poor and undeveloped, and serve only to divide and disunite us. We yield not to the Poles in our love for our country and our race ; but we feel that the best way to love them is to promote their welfare. It was well in the primitive state of society to defend every thing that was national, for it was then a question of life and death ; but such a patriotism in the present day would be a curse, and you should have none of it. If patriotism means an insensate love of every thing that is ours, whether good or bad, away with such patriotism. If it is to teach us to rest satisfied with our lares and penates, our language, and our civilization, as they now stand, the less we have of it the better. Such patriotism requires us to hug our chains, and remain intellectual bondsmen for ever. True patriotism, how-

ever, is not a blind adherence to ancient customs, but an intelligent love for the welfare and advancement of our race, and if you really wish to serve your country, you should not hesitate a moment to spurn everything that stands in the way of progress, and import from foreign land whatever is calculated to raise her in the scale of nations. Our history, our traditions, our ancient glory, are preserved in a language which has long since ceased to be current, and it is impossible to revive it. It can now only serve as a monument of the past, and not the instrument of future amelioration. Our vernaculars are mere media of speech and all but totally devoid of such scientific and literary lore as can raise a nation and satisfy our intellectual wants. Our only resource therefore is to borrow what we want from those who will help us, and who can assist us better in this respect than the noble race which now sways the destiny of this country? Time was when the languages of Greece and Rome were supposed to represent all that was noble and great for the culture of the human mind. But that time has long since passed away. The languages of Germany, France and England have gone far ahead of them, and no man can now be called truly learned who has not acquired a thorough knowledge of at least one of them, and of the magnificent stock of science and literature that they have amassed. For us the language of England has the greatest commendation. It is fully as rich, if not richer, than those of France and Germany, and it has at the same time many advantages, which the others do not possess. Those advantages may be all expressed in a single sentence, it is the language of our Government. If you wish to be an able lawyer you must learn it; if you desire to the honors of the bench you must learn it; if you wish to be a competent senator or legislator you must again learn it. If you wish to distinguish yourself in the healing art, you must learn English, so must you if you desire wealth by foreign commerce. For you none of the sciences of modern Europe can be more readily acquired than through the medium of English, and even for a thorough

study of the history of your own national classic, the Sanskrit, you must have a competent knowledge of English literature. Can you afford to give up such a language—such an Aladin's lamp of knowledge—for the sake of a mistaken patriotism.

It has been said by a learned gentleman, high in Government service, and performing the duties of a minister of Public Instruction in India, that high education is not of essential service to society, and it serves only to make "tulips and exotics" of us; but will you, and will Europe, endorse the opinion that the Herchels and Humboldts and Stephensons of society are mere "tulips," like tares in a wheat field, and that those who have just placed a girdle round half the circumstance of the Globe we inhabit, are of no essential service to the community? It may be that it is more arduous for us to acquire, in a foreign language, what people in Europe learn in their own vernaculars; but it is neither impossible nor particularly difficult. It is only a year ago that one of you in a competitive examination stood second in English amidst three hundred of the flower of England's youth. He was weighted for a welter and had to run against feather weights, and he won with ease. I have no doubt that there are hundreds, if not thousands, amongst you who could do the same under like circumstances.

It has been urged by the gentleman whom I have already adverted to, that no body prevents us from learning English or any other language we choose, but the Government is not bound to provide for us. But this doctrine appears to me quite as consistent as that about tulips and exotics. The gentleman himself admits that it is the duty of Government to provide for the education of the people; and if so, it must follow as a matter of course, that the education provided should be good and sound and useful, and not a shadow which, to quote the language of Macaulay, "can bring to the recipient neither bread nor honor." It has been all along held in every part of the civilized world, that the glory and greatness of a nation depend upon the sum total of knowledge acquired by its foremost representatives, and

not upon the extent of the area over which it is sprinkled in drops. Greece was great because she had her Homer and Socrates and Plato. Rome was likewise great because of her Philosophers and Poets and Historians ; neither on account of any popular education, for they had none, and the bulk of their population was made up of helots. England is great and truly great, but has she achieved that greatness by any system of widespread elementary education ? No : her greatness depends upon her scholars and her scientific men. Take them away and she will at once sink to the position of Spain or Portugal. If then the greatness of a nation depends upon the extent to which liberal education is cultivated, it is clearly the duty of the British Indian Government to offer every encouragement to high education in this country, and not to let it take care of itself, in order that Government resources may be devoted solely to that which is not by itself able to help the nation onward,—a postponement of that which is of the utmost importance, for that which is of secondary consequence. In the cess despatch, just received, it is said "that the true wealth of a wise and just Government lies in the growing wealth of its people, and the fiscal system which most encourages the accumulation and enjoyment of capital in private hands must in the long run be the most profitable to the State," and if so, the Government is clearly bound to encourage that kind of education most which is calculated to be the most remunerative and not to deny it all encouragement because it leads to material advantages. In European countries every possible encouragement is held forth to university education, large annual grants are given from the State exchequer for the support of universities. In Germany this amounts to 29 thalers for every thaler paid by the student in the way of fees. In France the Government allowance is 190 Rs.. per student, and in Italy to no less than 227 Rs., against an average of only 10 Rs., in Bengal. Turning from the Continent to England we find the magnificent endowments of her Colleges are due, to a great extent, to gifts of land

by former sovereigns, and the State allowance to the Queen's College in Dublin and the Maynooth grant shew that the principle has not been lost sight of in the present day. No doubt many of the endowments of English Colleges are due to private charities, but those charities did not flow in all at once. Centuries passed away before they attained their present proportions, and in India the same may be expected in a much shorter time. Within the last fourteen years, that the Calcutta University has been in existence, private benefactions for the support of collegiate education have poured in to the extent of nearly seven lacs on this side of India, and at that rate our colleges will be rendered self-supporting before the century is out. But whether they are so or not, the duty of Government will always remain the same, and we have every right to demand—not to pray—that it should render every reasonable encouragement to that which is of the highest value for the well-being of the nation. This has been repeatedly acknowledged by the Government itself, and is such a manifest truism in the science of Government, that it would be a waste of words to demonstrate it.

But while advocating the cultivation of the English language for those who can afford the necessary time and the means, I shall not forget the claims of those classes who cannot afford them. For them the vernaculars must continue to be the only media of education, and it behoves both the Government and the people at large to see that they are supplied with what is most appropriate for them. I shall be the last to deny any man his due ; but I cannot tolerate any scheme which will deprive one section of the community of its rights for the benefit of another, even when put forth under the cloak of benevolence and philanthropy. Injustice does not cease to be so because its proceeds are devoted to a good purpose. To do evil that good may proceed from it enters not in my humble code of morals. If Government is bound to provide for the education of the people under its care it is bound to see that the means at its disposal are equally distributed among the different classes of the com-

munity, who contribute to those means and not to select some for its favours and neglect others.

It is the fashion among some of our enemies to say that the education given in the Government Colleges is charity education. I denounce the charge as a malicious calumny, and altogether repudiate the idea that education given at the cost of the State, that is out of the public revenues contributed by the people at large, is an act of charity. Were it so you may as reasonably say that the protection we derive from the police and the judicial establishments of the country, are gratuitous; and the military establishments are kept up gratis for our good. As a matter of fact, we in Bengal, pay more for our education besides the share which comes out of our contribution to the revenues of the State, than any other nation in the civilized world. According to a recent resolution of the University authorities of Oxford the annual fee has been reduced to £3-10*s.* in that ancient seat of learning, when the average cost to each student in Bengal is £9. Bearing this in mind I ask is it not a matter of extraordinary effrontery for those who get their education at the cost of £3-10*s.* to themselves, the rest being made up by public charities, to call us charity boys who pay £14-6*s.* in Calcutta. True there are some Government scholarships attached to our Colleges, and their total value is about £7000 a year, but before malevolent people carp at us for them, it would be well if they would remember that in France over 18 lacs are annually devoted to bursaries, and in England the value of exhibitions and bursaries proceeding from pure charity considerably exceeds that sum.

There is one question more to which I shall advert; it is the possibility of raising the Indian vernaculars sufficiently for the purposes of a liberal course of education. I begin by denying that such a thing is possible within any reasonable time. There are a hundred and one vernaculars now current in the country, and it is utterly utopian to suppose that all or most of them can be improved so as to be fit for university education. None, I

believe, will be fool hardy enough to insist on it, and if not, the whole argument about the superiority of the vernaculars will fall to the ground. A few of the vernaculars may be improved and when they are what will become of those races whose vernaculars are not improved? They must be obliged to study in, to them, a foreign tongue; and if so why not give them the English at once instead of waiting for the improvement of a language quite as strange to them. Even to effect that improvement the only means at our disposal is to import the sciences and the arts of modern civilization from the nations of Europe, and how can that be accomplished unless we learn those sciences first and then translate them into our vernaculars? When Russia wanted those sciences she did not begin by forbidding all foreign languages, but by offering every possible encouragement to the study of the French and the German languages. The Porte and the Pasha of Egypt have done the same in a small way, and if our Governors really wish for our good they must do likewise. To sit still till the vernaculars are improved would be the surest way to prevent the possibility of their ever being improved. It would be invoking Jupiter instead of putting our own shoulders to the wheel. But even with our best exertions we cannot possibly attain our object in less than a century, and to give up the study of the English now is therefore tantamount to giving up all prospect of improvement for three generations to come. But even after that the necessity for learning English will not cease. No Hindu in Bengal would for a moment wish to see our present Government changed. On the whole India never had a Government so good in the whole course of her history; and if the Government is to last the necessity for learning English will always continue, even after the Bengali is rendered as perfect as the English. It is the language of our Gracious Sovereign over whose dominions the sun never sets; it is the language of commerce all over the East. It is the language of Milton and Shakespeare; of Newton and Bacon, of Locke and Hume; it is the language of a noble host of physicists of the

present century who have altogether changed the face of civilization in Europe. Can you afford to give up such a language for the poems of Kritibas and the doggrels of Kavi-Kankan, or even for such sloppy translations as you can produce for years to come? If you can I shall deeply regret your choice, for it would amount to an intellectual suicide. (*Tremendous loud cheering.*)

THE PERMANENT SETTLEMENT QUESTION.

Pursuant to advertisement, a large and influential meeting of the native community was held at the Hall of the British Indian Association, on Monday, the 3rd April, 1871, at 4 P. M., *for the purpose of considering a petition to Parliament against the imposition of land cess, as calculated to involve a breach of the Permanent Settlement.*

Raja (then Baboo) Rajendralala Mittra, in seconding the second Resolution said that the nature and character of the Permanent Settlement had been so often and so fully discussed before, and the eloquent speakers who had preceded him already, had so exhausted it, that he did not wish to occupy the time of the meeting by repeating their arguments. Nor was it necessary for him to do so. As the seconder of the Resolution, he had only to recommend it for adoption, and looking to the manner in which the first Resolution had been received, he need say little in its favor. It was but the sequel of the first, and if the meeting was convinced that the proposed cess would prove unjust towards the Zemindars, it was clearly their duty, as it is their interest, to protest against it. No man is worthy of the slightest consideration from his fellow-beings, who sits idle and moping under a grave injustice, taxing fate for what it is his own

duty to overcome, but makes no exertion to right himself. Idleness and apathy, want of energy and resolution, were not the characteristics of manliness, and he would be sorry indeed to hear that any of those causes will overcome them in their arduous but straight course of duty. They should be up and doing, and move on, and if they still failed, they will have the satisfaction of a clear conscience ; but if they gave up all exertion, from a foregone conclusion that there was no hope, they would act like the sick man who abjures medicines under an impression that his disease is incurable. There was a moral turpitude in such resignation which deserved the severest censure. He hoped that there were none amongst his audience who, for a moment, believed that it was not politic to oppose the scheme, now before the Bengal Legislature, because it let off the Zemindar very lightly, and gave him additional power to grind his ryots, whereby he would be able to benefit himself. Should there be any such, he would denounce him, and every honest man, he thought, would denounce him as a traitor to his country, who, like most traitors, would find, when too late, that he had sold his birth-right for a pottage. The speaker did not wish to say any thing as to the merits of the case. The Zemindar may be wrong, quite wrong, in thinking that the proposed cess would undo the Permanent Settlement. The interpretation that had been put to that compact by Government, may be perfectly just and legal. But as long as the Zemindar conscientiously thought that he would be wronged, so long it was clearly his duty to seek redress by every constitutional means at his disposal, and what could be more constitutional and just than to appear before the supreme tribunal of the country for a judicial determination of his case ? The right of petition is one of the fundamental principles of the constitution he lived under. From the days of King John it had been conceded to every subject of the British Crown. The Magna Charta and the Bill of Rights, if they secured nothing else to the people of India, they certainly gave them the power to appear before their

Sovereign and Her trusty Lords and Commons for the redress of whatever they may have to complain of. It was an inalienable and indefeasible right of every ryot of Her Gracious Majesty, and none need shrink from exercising it. Even the condemned felon and the malefactor were not denied it, and the Zemindars could not be wrong if they acted up to it, though it be in appeal from the decision of some of the highest officers of Her Majesty's Government. The petition they proposed to submit was in every way the most appropriate. It entered into no detailed argument, it treated of no vexed question of law or policy, it found fault with none; but after temperately putting the case in the light in which the Zemindars saw it, pointed out that those who were most conversant with the subject, and held the responsible post of advisers to Her Majesty's Secretary of State, were very much divided in opinion, and that under the circumstances a decision by a judicial committee of the House of Parliament would be the best way to bring the question to a final settlement. Nothing could be simpler or more straightforward, and he (the speaker) would be sorry indeed, if so reasonable a prayer be denied them. That the Zemindar had made out a case, and it was fit to go before the the Jury, none, would deny who had dispassionately read the Minute of Sir Erskine Perry, an extract from which had been quoted in the petition. Other Minutes were equally strong and decisive. Again, when the Permanent Settlement was about to be completed, Mr. Law, the Collector of Gya, wrote a Minute suggesting that a clause should be inserted in the compact to the effect that under very pressing and extraordinary exigency the Government should have the power of demanding something in addition to the fixed revenue, and in reply both Sir John Shore and Lord Cornwallis said that that would entirely vitiate the first principle of the settlement, and that in case of future emergency the Government should look to commerce, and the increased wealth of the country for recruiting their resources. Language could not be more precise, and in his lay understanding, the speaker felt not a little stag-

gered to find that a principle so clearly enunciated could be open to doubt; but as he did not intend to enter into the legal bearing of the question, all he had to say was that the petitioners had *primâ facie* a good case, and would do well to try the issue. They could not be wrong in contending for what they thought was due to them, but they were sure to bring on them the reprobation of the world if they did not exert themselves to protect their rights.

The issue was as to whether there was or not a solemn compact by which the Government had bound itself to abstain from raising its demand on land under any pretext whatever; and so long as it was confined to that, the petitioners were perfectly safe. There was, however, another issue, which had been raised in some quarters, and it called for a few remarks. It questioned not the existence, but the legality and binding character of the pledge, and the sophistry and the spirit of communion with which it had been put forth, have recommended it to all who have nothing to lose and something to gain by the proposition. It was founded on a supposed incapacity of one generation to bind a future, or of a Government to bind posterity. It has been said that if an individual should make a contract to transfer to another property which does not belong to him, such contract is null and void, because the contracting party was not competent to execute the instrument under which the property is claimed by the transfer. Similarly, the Permanent Settlement Act of Lord Cornwallis is not binding on the Government of to-day, because "no Government is competent to bind posterity." This doctrine has gathered great strength from the opinions put forth by such great men as Carlyle and Mills, as to the right of Government to repudiate treaties if they proved troublesome. The speaker was not, he said, in a position to argue on the political bearing of the question. He had a notion that the justice, legality, and binding character of political treaties depended a great deal more on Mars than on Minerva, and it was probably on that ground, that the ancient Romans subordinated wisdom to power

by marrying Minerva to Mars. The balance of justice was in the case of political treaties so much influenced by the weight of Kemp's guns and breech-loaders, and of sturdy phalanx and veteran soldiers, and so little by logic and reason, that it would be a waste of words to argue it. The case was, however different, when we come to compacts between man and man, and between subjects and their sovereigns. A pledge under such circumstances, is the most solemn and sacred that could be ever conceived. It underlies the very foundation of every civil contract, and to repudiate it would be to repudiate all moral obligation between man and man. If one generation could not bind another, ninety-nine out of every hundred documents in which attorneys bind "heirs, successors, representatives, and assigns," would be worthless. Every son under such doctrine would be justified to cancel the leases given by his father, and every change of ministry authorise the cancelment of the national debt. No doubt, the author of the article in the *Westminister Review* in which this novel doctrine has been set forth at length, bases his argument on the ground that none can give away that which is not his, and as the land, or its revenue, did not belong to Lord Cornwallis' Government, it had no power to give it away, as its successor is not bound to abide by such a gift, it can cancel the grant at its sweet will and pleasure. Now the land, or the right to revenue therefrom after the British conquest, must have belonged to the Government of the day, and it had every right to deal with it in any way it liked ; but admitting, for the sake of argument only, that it had only a limited or so-to-speak life-interest, and could not bind its successors, the speaker thought the idea absurd that there has been any change of Government since the days of Lord Cornwallis. The British Government ruled then as it does now, and it cannot repudiate its own acts. No doubt, the personnel of the Government has changed many times since that period, but no man would be reckless enough to say that that amounted to a change of Government. Once admit that a change of

personnel amounts to a change of Government, and it would follow that every deed to which that late Viceroy put his hands to binding himself and his successors, is now so much waste paper. The Judges of Her Majesty's Courts of Justice will not, however, permit us to practically carry out such a doctrine, and what is true of individuals is equally true of communities and Governments. Admit the opposite doctrine, and you will find that the compacts with the Talookdars of Oudh, are invalid, that all the Jagirs which were given by Lord Canning are resumable, and that it is the bounden duty of Parliament to take back the large estates which are now owned by some of the nobility of England. Most of these estates were given away by former kings to parasites and syeophants, and their descendants have no business to hold them against the English public. It is scarcely likely that the writer of the article, who is said to be a gentleman high in the Civil Service would deny the sequitor of his argument, by declaring that the covenant under which he came to India and which had been executed by a former Secretary of State is no longer binding upon Government. According to the *Reviewer*, the land should contribute most to the maintenance of Government, for it derives the greatest benefit from a fixed and efficient Government. If so, and the speaker did not wish to question the premiss, the virtuous indignation which he expresses against the Permanent Settlement, should be first directed to his own country. He finds that for a revenue of seventy-one crores required for the maintenance of Government in Great Britain, land contributes only six crores and a half, whereas in India land pays twenty crores and all the other sources of revenue about thirty, *i. e.*, while in Great Britain the incidence of taxation on real property, is as $6\frac{1}{2}$ to 70, in India it is twenty to fifty; obviously, therefore, the injustice to the present generation of Englishmen done by the acts of former generations of dissolute kings, is infinitely greater than that to the Indian public by the settlement of Lord Cornwallis. Indeed, omitting the opium revenue from the calculation,

it will be found that land in Bengal under the much abused Permanent Settlement, contributes nearly two-fifths of the entire revenue of Bengal, while in Great Britain it yields only one-eleventh. *Reviewer ! Hear !*

The *Reviewer* next enters into a detailed argument against the right of Zemindars to compensation of the land he resumed inasmuch as their original right is invalid, but the speaker did not think it necessary to take up the time of the meeting by any attempt to expose its transparent fallacies. He only regretted that the *Reviewer* was not present to protest against Parliament voting away millions for compensation to slave-holders for their unhallowed right to deal in human flesh and bones. It would have obviated the necessity of a large national debt, and greatly simplified the proceedings of the emancipators. (Cheers.)

The *Reviewer* makes an exception of public debt, inasmuch as he says " substantial considerations are received in such cases," but if he will dispassionately look into the nature of the Permanent Settlement, he will find that equally substantial consideration was given by the Zemindars for the right, of which they are now proposed to be deprived. They gave up all claims to *abwabs* which they had enjoyed before, and consented to a perpetual tax of ten-elevenths, when the usual rate at the time was only one-half, and the temporary settlement since made by Government in other parts of India range from forty to sixty-five per cent. The excessive amount given (and it was given for half a century before they got any return) was clearly a consideration as any consideration could be. It was besides to the interest of Government, and by desire of Government, that the settlement was made, and it cannot now be set aside because it is no longer beneficial to it, without a most reprehensible breach of moral obligation. (Cheers.)

Then as regards its effect on the people, the Permanent Settlement has secured to the ryot, that is to the mass of the people, much more substantial advantages than any other settlement that the speaker was aware of. In England, according to a return

published in a recent number of the Journal of the Statistical Society, only four lacks of persons, or about two in a hundred have any interest in land, leaving ninety-eight per cent. of the population to depend on labour, whereas in Bengal the ryots' permanent rights and leases in land have been estimated by Mr. Bell, the Legal Remembrancer, at tens of thousands in every district. Those who know best estimate the number of *khodkast* ryots in Bengal at one-third of the peasantry, and fully another third has rights of occupancy, leaving only one-third without any right to land. Such an equable distribution of land never obtained in England, and it behoved those Englishmen who wished for a fair agrarian distribution to turn their attention first to England and not to India. Bengali farms may be individually small, but no equal distribution can be effected without reducing the bulk of each individual share ; and it was no evil, for it is the small peasant proprietor who is the most sturdy and independent, and useful member of society, and the glorious yeomanry of England, whose disappearace is so much mourned, were all small peasant proprietors.

It might be said that even if justice should not, sound policy should, dictate the Zemindars to abstain from opposing the proposed cess. The objects for which it is required are good, and by opposing it they oppose the social and material improvements of the country. But the speaker could not subscribe to the doctrine. He yielded to none, he said, in his estimation of the manifold advantages of good roads, widespread education, and municipal improvement. But he could not believe that the only way to them lay through a breach of moral obligation. His religion, he said, would not permit him to tolerate the maxim which justifies evil, because good may come out of it. If local rates were necessary for such purposes, there were various ways of raising them, and he would be glad, and he hoped none of his hearers would object to any just, reasonable and inoppressive taxation for such purposes ; but he thought it highly reprehensible to secure such advantages by a measure which would cause

a firm and universal, even if it be a mistaken, conviction of a grave breach of faith. (Loud Applause.)

LORD NORTHBROOK MEMORIAL MEETING.

A public meeting of the inhabitants of Calcutta was held at the Town Hall on Saturday the 8th April 1876, to consider a proposal to erect, by public subscription, a fitting memorial to Lord Northbrook.

Raja (then Dr.) Rajendralala Mitra, in moving the second Resolution, said :—

I beg to propose, as a sequel to the Resolution you have just adopted, "that a statue of the Right Hon'ble Lord Northbrook be erected in the city of Calcutta as a memorial of his Lordship's successful administration of the British Indian Empire." I call this a sequel, as it supplies an omission in the first Resolution. You have resolved to record your high sense of the eminent services of the nobleman ; but the Resolution does not indicate where it should be recorded. Surely, it is not to be only on the tablet of your memory, for it is already firmly impressed on our memory, and no Resolution is wanted to place it there. Nor would you think that the proceedings of this meeting published in the daily papers of Calcutta would give it sufficient permanence, for the papers would, most probably, be all gone to the trunk-makers long before the year will be out. No, the best and most appropriate place for the record would be the pedestal of such a statue as would be worthy of the illustrious nobleman you wish to honor, and worthy of the metropolis of British India. (Cheers.)

In days of yore, when society was young and imagination ran riot, leaving reason behind and uncared-for, the usual plan

of recognising greatness was by making gods of national heroes; but, I fancy, the pantheon soon got full, and no new admissions could be permitted. The scheme of bringing down particular persons from that pantheon to do duty on earth was then brought into vogue. This was called incarnation, and between apotheosis and incarnation mankind remained well content for a long period. But we live in sober times, and the highest form of memorial that we can tolerate is a statue. This is what we have learnt from the Greeks and the Romans, the two most advanced nations of antiquity. Doubtless, there is the rival scheme of a large memorial building, which has often been resorted to from ancient times; but I must frankly confess that it is not agreeable to me. I have a notion that old Cheops would have been better remembered even in the form of a sphinx than he is under the great Pyramid. Besides, whatever effect it may have had in former times, it has been of late too often resorted to in, what I cannot help describing as, a dishonest way, and therefore I dislike it. Some æsthetic hobby, or sickly sentimentalism, or other not very lofty motive, suggests a building; but the public will not subscribe for that particular project. The said public will, however, readily open its purse-strings to do honor to a great man. A subscription is accordingly raised in his name, and then, in a hole-and-corner Committee meeting, the money is diverted to the building for which the public would not have paid even a penny. Or, it may be, some officious friends of a man in power wish to make a hero of him; they know that the public will not subscribe for their hero, and so they start a useful public building,—a new wing of a hospital or library,—and manage to draw the funds they require, and, when the building is ready, they clap on it the name of their hero, and he is immortalised. (laughter.) In either case, the public is sold, whatever the utilitarian Benthamite value of the plan may prove to them. At the best, one does not quite know whether he subscribes for a charity, or a memorial. A plan for a statue is not open to this charge of double-dealing, or uncertainty, and I

therefore advocate a statue. It comes forward in all frankness before the public, and the public may subscribe to it or not, just as it likes ; and, if the plan is carried out, and a statue is erected, it stands a faithful mounment of the feeling of the people. That a statue in the present instance would be agreeable to you all, I have no reason to doubt. The ringing cheers with which you have received the first Resolution assure me that you feel as warmly on the subject as I do (cheers) ; but, in moving the Resolution for a memorial, I am expected to say a few words in praise of the subject of the memorial, and thence comes my difficulty. Not that I am at all in want of materials; but the time allowed me to deal with them is so exceedingly short. To describe fully the various acts of Lord Northbrook's administration would require as many hours as you will allow me minutes. I am free to admit that Lord Northbrook is no hero in the popular acceptation of the terms. He has conquered no kingdom ; he has added no new province to the empire; nor shone foremost at the head of an invincible army. No battle, with its tens of thousands of killed and wounded, proclaims his greatness, nor does the wail of widows and orphans attest his prowess. (Laughter.) Gentlemen, you smile at my idea of prowess being indicated by widows' wail ; but the idea is not new. From the days of Agamemnon and Achilles and Alexander to those of Napoleon and the hero of Sedan, it has been always the same ; the greater the carnage and the greater the number of widows made, the greater the glory. But he has done what no hero ever did ; he has rescued hundreds of thousands from starvation, and large provinces from frightful desolation. (Cheers.) Let those who have witnessed the Orissa famine of 1866, recall to mind the heart-rending scenes of misery and death which spread everywhere, even to the very heart of this city, and then reflect that, under a crisis of exactly the same kind, Lord Nothbrook did not allow a single person to die from want of food, and they will realise the great moral victory which that nobleman achieved. (Cheers.) His greatness is not proclaimed by carnage and woe, but by the united voice of a

whole nation; by happy families rescued from the jaws of death; by peace and plenty over the wide extent of the British Indian Empire. (Cheers.) He has never made his triumphal entry in any Indian town, with hundreds of foemen tied behind his car; but there is not a homestead in all Northern Bengal where the cheerful voice of gratitude and cordial blessing do not await to render him the highest honor which can proceed from the human heart. (Cheers.) In adverting the other day to the success of the British Arms in Abyssinia, an honorable gentleman, whom I see before me, said that, had there been some reverses, some outposts lost, or a regiment or two decimated before the walls of Magdala, it would have greatly heightened the glory of the victory; and, in the same way, I feel almost tempted to wish that there had been a few thousands killed by starvation in Tirhut, to prove to carpers and Black Pamphleteers the true character of the dire calamity which the humanity, forethought, and noble statesmanship of Lord Northbrook so thoroughly and so completely overcame. As it is, the success of that war of philanthropy against famine was simply perfect, and history cannot afford a parallel to it. (Cheers.) There may have been some little waste here, or slight extravagance there, but I do not care to look at the spots on the sun; it would imply a sadly defective perception of relative proportion.

As a statesman, Lord Northbrook is an advanced Liberal, and every act of his during his four years' administration of this country was characterised by a liberality and breadth of view which claims our highest admiration. In a country governed by aliens, the extent of taxation is the best index to the feeling of the rulers, and the sympathy between them and the ruled; and the first thing Lord Northbrook did on his arrival in this country was to veto the Mufasal Municipal Bill, which then threatened the people with a variety of new and vexatious impost. To him also belongs the glory of abolishing the income tax, which had created such widespread mischief over the length and breadth of India. The abolition or reduction of duty on many

of our articles of export and import also evince a high sense of equity, justice and fair-play for the commerce of this country. And, while he has thus reduced taxation, he has, by judicious administration of the finances of the Empire, maintained the efficiency of every department of Government. He has besides contributed no less a sum than eleven crores to extraordinary expenses during the period of his reign. This implies a surplus of well nigh two and three-quarter millions on the ordinary transactions of every year. Think of this, and then of the deficits and loans which formed such ever-recurring and salient points of our former budgets, and you will be able to appreciate the true nature of Lord Northbrook's financial administration. (Cheers.) Remember, too, that this was effected after making most liberal allotments for extensive public works, which will materially develop the resources of the country. Bear in mind also that this had to be accomplished in the face of a ruinous fall in the value of silver, which is the only medium of exchange in this country. But the greatest difficulty he had to overcome was the unceasing cry of "Give, give" from that insatiate daughter of the horse-leech, the Public Works Department, and he certainly did not allow the cry to increase. (Cheers and laughter.) Sir, had Lord Northbrook done nothing else besides extricating the State finances from the muddle in which they were, he would have deserved our highest praise. The task was Herculean, and it was performed in a manner that left nothing to be desired.

Lord Northbrook's services to the cause of education were in every way worthy of British a statesman of the highest class, and it touched a most tender chord of sympathy in the heart of my countrymen. His encouragement of art and literature, his urbanity, his freedom from vain ostentation and display, his courtesy, his high sense of justice, without distinction of creed and colour, and his sympathy for the people, were also such as to endear him to one and all. To nothing do the people of this country hold more tenaciously than to that great charter of their liberties, the Queen's Proclamation of 1858, and, when

Lord Northbrook left England, he pledged himself to carry out the behests of our Gracious Sovereign in all their integrity. How well, how faithfully, and how zealously he has kept that promise is patent to all of you. I could, with the garrulity of my age, dwell for hours on these and kindred topics; but I am afraid that those who will follow me will not thank me for so doing. I must, however, refer to one notable instance of his sympathy for my countrymen. I allude to the monument lately erected to the memory of the Native officers and soldiers who fell in the defence of the Lucknow Residency. They were heroes in the highest sense of the word, and displayed an amount of moral superiority, the like of which no band of men in any other part of the world has ever shown. Men, at different times and in various climes, have fought with great devotion for their homes, for their country, and for their religion; but none of these incentives to devotion was at play in the case of the sepoys at Lucknow. Neither nationality nor religion, neither consanguinity nor community of language, neither love nor interest, tied them to their leaders; the only chord between them was a sense of duty, and it was enough to make this noble band hold against every inducement which their brethern, their country, their religion and their self-interest could prompt. For days, weeks and months, they fought against all and everything that was dear and near to them, and one by one laid down their lives to protect their alien leaders, and all for the sake of that single watch-word, "fidelity to salt." Well may Sir George Couper say that "the behaviour of those men was simply without a parallel in the annals of the world." But after the restoration of peace, while questionable claims were largely rewarded, no one ever thought of this noble band of heroes, and for nineteen years this memory was left to the care of oblivion, till the generous instinct of Lord Northbrook rescued it, and defrayed out of his own pocket the cost of a mounment to keep it alive, and mark his sense of the glory of devotion. That single act of his ought to endear him to all admirers of moral greatness, and we

cannot better testify our respect and esteem for such a man than by dedicating to his memory a statue on which our children's children and future generations may behold the lineaments of a truly good and great man, and learn to appreciate the value of true nobility of heart (Cheers.)

INAUGURATION OF THE HURRISH CHUNDER MOOKERJEE LIBRARY.

On Saturday, the 15th July 1876, a meeting was held at premises, No 18, British Indian Street, for the inauguration of the Hurrish Chunder Mookerjee Library.

Raja (then Dr.) Rajendralala Mitra, on behalf of the Trustees of the Hurrish Chunder Mookerjee Library, requested the Chairman to be good enough to announce the Library open to the public. In making this request, he said, he thought it necessary to say a few words in explanation of the circumstances which had led the Memorial Committee to adopt the course they had done, the reason of the long delay in carrying out the project, and the aim and object of the Library. Most of his audience were well aware that soon after the death of their late distinguished countryman, a meeting was held in the rooms of the British Indian Association to vote a memorial in honor of the lamented deceased, and a Committee was appointed to carry out the intention of the meeting. The form of the Memorial was largely discussed at a meeting ; and the different propositions then made were referred to the Committee, which was left at liberty to adopt any one of them, or any new one they thought proper which they could best carry out with the means that would be at their disposal. The feeling was strong in favor of

a memorial building, and the late Babu Kally Prassana Singh, who was so honorably noted for the deep interest he took in every thing that was noble and generous, and conducive to the well-being of his countrymen, came forward with an offer to place at the disposal of the Committee a plot of land, measuring two biggahs, situated on the Upper Circular Road, on condition that the Committee should build at their cost a suitable house for a Library and for public meetings, conversaziones and theatrical performances. The offer was accepted, plans were prepared, and a trust appointed, but the subscriptions raised proved utterly inadequate for the purpose. For the thousands who had professed high esteem and respect for the lamented deceased very few indeed were found willing to come forward with their subscription. Five rupees per head from those who professed their friendship for Hurrish Chunder Mookerjee would have raised a lac, but those who were the loudest in their protestations were the most conspicuous by their abstinence from touching the subscription book. After years of toil the total sum realized barely amounted to Rs. 10,500. The plan of erecting a house had, therefore, to be given up, and the land to be returned to the donor. A statue was next thought of, but no materials were available for the purpose. Hurrish had never sat to an artist for his likeness ; and the late Mr. Hudson, who had seen Hurrish often, failed to produce a picture from memory. Scholarships, prizes, stipends, and the like were next taken into consideration, but none of them commended itself to the approbation of the Committee. At this time the British Indian Association was negotiating for the purchase of a house, and as it did not require an entire house for its purposes, the Committee thought the opportunity a good one for securing accommodation for a Library on advantageous terms. Hurrish Chunder Mookerjee was intimately connected with the British Indian Association for a long time. He had laboured for it most assiduously and for years. Early and late at daily desk-work, at weekly Committee Meetings, and at monthly and special general meetings, he was fore-

most everywhere, and identified himself in all its actions. The Association too did much to encourage him in every way. It placed at his disposal for the support of his paper a vast mass of information, and the results of varied experience derived in different walks of life by some of its oldest and most influential members ; it offered him every facility for collecting facts and figures ; it enabled him to mature his views by free discussion with some of the ablest men of the country. Soon after his death the members of the Association assisted in rescuing his dwelling-house from sale under an attachment for debts incurred by him on account of some law expenses, and thereby saved his mother and widow from being driven out of home and hearth ; and since then they had regularly paid pensions for the support of his mother and widow. On the death of his mother they defrayed the cost of her *shradh*. His widow still gets her pension. And it was supposed under the circumstances that a memorial for him would be most appropriate if connected with the Association. The terms obtained were also the most favorable possible. For the sum of ten thousand rupees, the Trustees got the Association to agree to place at their disposal three rooms on the ground floor of its new house with the necessary out-offices with the reversion of the whole house in the event of the Association being dissolved and no new one on the same principle being formed within a year ; to keep the rooms in perfect repair at its own cost ; to defray all taxes and rates ; to present to the Library all books and pamphlets that it may receive as presents or by purchase ; to keep a clerk in attendance at the Library free of charge ; to hold in custody the books and effects of the Trust; and to direct the servants of the Association to attend to the cleanliness of the rooms. Thus the whole expense of maintaining the Library was secured, and it was thought that it was not at all likely that better terms could anywhere else be got. The negotiations were at once closed, and this Library is the result. For the supply of newspapers the Trustees are indebted to the Editor of the *Hindoo Patriot*, who has promised to place at

their disposal all the papers that he purchases or gets in exchange for his paper. As the *Patriot* was originally established and raised to its high position by Harrish Chunder Mookerjee, and is intimately associated with his memory, indeed it is the best monument that he could have left of himself and which had been so ably and so successfully maintained by his successor (cheers), it was not apprehended that this source of supply of newspapers either from the present Editor or his successors will in a hurry be cut off. The speaker then read out a statement of accounts brought up to date, which showed that after paying Rs. 10,000 for house-accomodation and defraying the cost of book-cases, furniture &c., there was a balance in their hand of Rupees 1,500 in Government securities and about Rs. 400 in the Bank of Bengal to the credit of the Library. The whole of this sum will be devoted to the purchase of books. For the future the Library must depend upon the gifts from authors and friends and to such purchases as the Trustees can effect with monthly subscriptions from persons who may wish to borrow books for perusal at home. No arrangement for such subscriptions has yet been made. On the whole the speaker confessed that the Library made but a very humble beginning. To those who were accustomed to large National Libraries, commanding from three to seventeen lacs of books, and whose annual purchases reckoned by thousands of pounds sterling, this would doubtless appear extremely insignificant. But India never had a National Public Library, and there was no near prospect of one being established for her. In India such an institution would be immensely costly, and it was not at all likely that the Government would undertake one in a hurry. In Europe national libraries derived their supply of books principally through certain compulsory sections of Copyright Acts. In England seventeen copies of every new book have to be presented to the different national libraries, and this at once ensures a free and gratuitous supply of every book published in the country. For books of small value this is not matter of much

consequence, but when we come to large illustrated works, like Gould's 'Birds of Australia,' and the like, the tax on the publishers amounts to several thousands of rupees for every book; and when the Indian Copyright Act was passed, this fact was taken into consideration, and no compulsory clause was introduced into it. For purposes of registration only three copies are taken of each book, and they are paid for. Had they been deposited in a Library open to the public, it would have been something, but they are buried in the Secretariat, and printed as most Indian books are on country paper, they are only destined to feed our white ants. Had the case been otherwise, and a gratuitous supply of books had been insisted upon for one or more public Libraries, still the result on the intellectual progress of the country would have been simply inappreciable. For years—nay centuries—India must draw the bulk of her supplies of books from Europe, and will have to pay for them all at full rates, and the annual amount for an adequate supply of English, French, German, Italian, and American books would amount to an enormous sum, which the Government was not at all willing to contribute. This fact has been felt for a long time; and those who take an interest in books, or have business to transact which requires constant references to books have adopted the system of division of responsibility to supply their wants. The Barristers cannot go on a step without books, and they have kept up their Bar Library. The Botanists have at the Royal Botanical Gardens at Sibpur an excellent collection of Botanical works, most of them of great value, and all useful to those who are engaged in that particular branch of study. In India, which was a Botanical microcosm embracing within its boundary the flora of every part of the world, from the tropics to the poles, the study of Botany was a most important one, and it was greatly to be desired that this Library should be thrown open to the public even as the Gardens are; but even then, located as the Library now is, there is no prospect that it would be very largely

resorted to. The Trustees of the Indian Museum are now forming a Scientific Library, which, it is to be hoped, will be open to the public. The Library attached to the Presidency College is a large one, but it is not, and cannot, be accessible to the public. The largest and by far the richest library in Calcutta is that of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. It comprises a collection of Mss. in Sanskrit, Persian, Arabic, Urdu, Burmese, Pali, Nepalese, and English, the like of which is nowhere else to be had, except in the British Museum and the India House Library. Its collection of European books on Indian subjects was also select and valuable, and the speaker could not refer to them without acknowledging his own obligations to it ; but it was a private library, intended for use of a private Association, and the public had no right or prospect to avail themselves of it. The only library open to the public in Calcutta was the one located in the Metcalfe Hall. It was a proprietory institution ; but the proprietors were liberal and they invited the public to participate in their riches. But it was a circulating library, and the kind of books it patronised most was just what a great number of people did not admire. "Prose works of imagination" as they call them form the staple of its stock, and many of these were deleterious to a degree. It was a matter of deep regret to moralists and others interested in the moral and intellectual amelioration of mankind, that the public taste of late had taken so strong a leaning towards the sensational, and a host of writers were so busily engaged in pandering to that taste. French novelists of the present day were specially guilty in this respect, and it was a matter of particular regret that many English ladies had followed in their wake. It is true that they do not openly praise immorality and vice, but they paint immorality and vice in colours which cannot fail to recommend them to unwary readers. Whatever the character of her own life, George Sand did not praise immorality, but her novels are the more dangerous, because they are so insidious. Mrs. Norton revels in her novels in poisoning, murder, seduction, lust, and debauchery ; Miss Braddon,

Miss Broughton, Miss Annie Thomas, Miss Florence Marryat, Ouida and others are all great sinners in this respect, and some of them indulge in descriptions of unbridled lust, debauchery and crime with the most rhapsodical extravagance. They are nevertheless all fashionable writers, and their works are most extensively read in every English home. And it was not at all to be wondered at if the insidious, prurient, deleterious, or pestiferous intellectual pabulum they yield has not much to account for the frivolity, listlessness and other evils so characteristic of the 'girls' of the period. But if there were bad novels, there were also good ones. If "Cometh up like a flower," be sickening to every right-thinking mind, there are works of some of the best English writters to afford solace and refreshment, Who is there that, because there are novels by a Reynolds, would condemn the works of Sir Walter Scott, of Bulwer, of Dickens and Thackeray ? Who there is who will deny that Waverly is as charming as the best of poetry ? Who will prohibit the good because there is the bad ? The speaker's avocations did not always permit him to indulge in novel reading ; but he never missed an opportunity of reading novels when good ones came in his way, and he had read many hundreds of volumes. On one occasion he was confined to bed by a painful and tedious disease for a whole year, and during the time forbidden to speak and unable to converse with his friends. The only means by which he could allay his pain and forget his illness was by reading those novels, and he greatly benefitted by the occupation, and those books which afforded him relief he could not denounce as bad or injurious. No, as a means of intellectual recreation they were as valuable as good poetry, and for increasing the knowledge of human society, improving conversation, making men more and more sociable, novels were better. Those whom the cares of the world and the battle of life left ample opportunities for reading them, they were highly useful. But good, bad or indifferent, there they were, and those who sought them would find them at the Public Library. It was not the object of the new Library to supply them. Hurrish

Chunder was no great scholar in the ordinary sense of the word, he did not pore over ancient classics, nor attempt to unravel the tangled knot of past history. He lived with the living, and thought with the living, and worked with the living. The present was everything for him, and he distinguished himself most as a political writer, toiling for the good of his countrymen, and it was, therefore, proposed that the Library to his memory should be a political one, calculated to train up his countrymen for working in the same field in which he obtained such eminent success. With this view it was intended that every work on modern Indian history and every book and pamphlet which had been, and hereafter may be, published, bearing on the social and political economy of the country, should be brought together, so that the student may have within his reach all the materials of history that he may require for his purpose. In short, the object was to prepare a training school for future Hurish Chundras ; and it is to be sincerely hoped that there will be no want of recruits who may in time not only rival but outshine the noble patriot whose memory the nation wishes so fondly to cherish. The resources necessary for the support of a Library of the kind proposed were not large, and should be easily provided ; in fact they had been in a great measure already provided ; but there must be simple-hearted, earnest patriots to benefit by them, and it will rest with the rising generation to show that India has not altogether ceased to bear true and worthy sons; and that they will continue to maintain the literary renown of their ancestors must be the earnest prayer of all who love their country.

THE TWENTY-FOURTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE BRITISH INDIAN ASSOCIATION.

At the Twenty-fourth Annual General Meeting of the British Indian Association Raja (then Dr.) Rajendralala Mitra spoke as follows :—

He had much pleasure in congratulating the members present on the twenty-fourth anniversary of the Association. It was highly gratifying for him to note that the Association had laboured so usefully and so well for a quarter of a century, and had attained an age, which in human life indicated the era of the greatest vigor, best fitted for the most arduous undertakings. The practice of looking back at stated times on the past career of a man's life was a salutary one ; it enabled people to note what they had done and what they had left undone, to learn their faults of omission and commission, to know what they had to be satisfied with and what to repent for. Many a golden youth would have been saved from ruin and degradation if he had annually made a reckoning of how deep he had dipped into his pockets. In the case of corporations and associated bodies this process of looking back was of the utmost importance. It was an old saying, and as true as it was old, that, what was every body's business was no body's business. The tendency always was to shirk work, to leave to others what should be done by one's ownself, and unless there were frequent looking-back, and periodical reviews, things were sure to be neglected, or to be done in a half-hearted perfunctory way that could only lead to failure. Anniversary meetings and annual reports afforded very fitting opportunites for such reviews. They did not come too frequently to convert the reports into mere formalities, nor at too long intervals to allow serious mischief to take place within the interim. The admirable report just read to the meeting afforded a fitting illustration of this remark. It gives an excellent summary of the

operations of the past year, and ample materials to compare the work of last with those of previous years, to show how the Association was progressing and where it needed amendment. Some captious people had of late said that the Association was growing old and effete. In his own individual case the speaker found the remark to be but too true, certain it was that his hearing of late had become dull ; and he required the aid of spectacles to get through his morning papers. Had he been an Archbishop of Granada his Secretary Gil Blas would have probably warned him against new sermons, but being no Archbishop and having no Secretary he had not yet received that intimation. The case was however entirely different as regards the Association. The Association was then in the hey-day of youth and vigor and strength and the report showed that it had worked in a manner, worthy of its age and strength, and no associated body in India had done better. Every scheme of law connected with the welfare of the people, every Government measure of importance, legislative or executive, every undertaking or occurrence bearing upon the well-being of the community had engaged its attention, and elicited remarks, observations and action which had borne most desirable fruit. To say this was doubtless to say what had been the case uniformly for the last five and twenty years ; but that showed that in their associated capacity the members had yet evinced no symptom of age or failing. The position of the Association was that of a Vigilance Committee watching the action of the Government towards the people and serving as the mouth-piece of the people by representing their wants, wishes and feelings to Government, and this was by no means a pleasant one. It was as troublesome and ticklish as walking on a knife's edge with Scylla on the one hand and Charybdis on the other. If the Association did not warmly take up everything legislative and administrative in behalf of those whose unpaid representative it professed to be, they complained bitterly and called it all sorts of names, and if it did go up to Government with advise and opinion on every

subject, a good many officers of Government and even a large section of the European public dubbed it a Committee of grievance-mongers, of factious oppositionists, of intolerable busy-bodies, and what not. Besides that, occupying very different stand-points, the Government officers and the members of the Association could not behold things in the same light. A reverend gentleman, a friend of the speaker, once told him, in reply to an objection to pay for two pages when the matter printed covered only one page, "my dear sir, we have no paper in stock which has only one side," and what was true of paper was equally true of all other things. Of every administrative question there were always two sides of which from the peculiarity of their respective positions the Government could only see the front, and the people the back, and the shield which the Government always took to be of gold appeared to the people as unmitigated base metal, and those who took upon themselves to give expression to the opinion so formed often appeared in a bad light—not as the mouth-piece of the people bringing to the knowledge of the Governors the wants, wishes, and opinions of the governed, but as individual malcontents who were viciously disposed and inclined always to oppose the views of Government. It must be said to the honor of Viceroys, Governors and many high officials that they fully understood the position of the Association and of individuals in such cases, and offered every encouragement to those through whom the sentiments of the native public could be ascertained. But there were others both at high places and at the heads of municipalities and corporations whose idle impatience or innate haughtiness, or arrogance of rank and power, could not brook contradiction from the people of this country, or listen to expositions of views which did not sort with their own preconceived ideas. Having seen the golden side of the shield they cannot possibly bear to be told that there may be iron even on the other side of the armour. With them all who talk of base metal talk treason—they are obstructives, captious oppositionists, rebels fit to be hung by the nearest tree. In truth,

such people do not oppose Government but help Government even as Her Majesty's Opposition does in Parliament—to elicit the views of its subjects and to shape its course so as to avoid mistakes and render its measures most beneficial to the people. And the Association had this credit on its side that what the Opposition in Parliament did for the sake of office, the Association did solely and exclusively for the sake of good Government. But for all that official human nature was no other than ordinary human nature, and flattery and *apkawasteism* always told upon it more effectually than contradiction and assertion of individuality. The speaker felt that he had suffered very much in his worldly prospects by not understanding this fact thoroughly, and that the Association by doing its duty and pointing out the character of its side of the shield did also suffer was a well-known fact. But at the same time the only proper course for the Association was to follow that which it had hitherto followed—that straight course of duty, which required it to serve as the interpreter of the people to Government and of Government to the people, and this it should do with the sole object of securing good Government without any fear of consequences, or any sinister view of favour. It should always, invariably, and on all fitting occasions say its say modestly, respectfully, and constitutionally, but at the same time firmly and unflinchingly. It can justify its existence solely by so doing, and will well deserve to be abolished when it failed to do so. Some obloquy, some misrepresentation, some abuse it must be prepared to withstand, idle impatience and official arrogance will always denounce it as meddlesome and obstructive,but there was always a sufficient number of men in high places who were willing to consult the wishes, wants and feelings of the people, and from such men the Association is sure to have its due for its honesty, straightforwardness and disinterested devotion to duty, and what was true of the Association collectively was equally true of the members individually. They could often serve their own ends—obtain situations for themselves or their relatives, favours and smiles from men in

power, honours and rewards from high quarters, by adopting the policy of *apkawaste* and *johakam*, but by subscribing for the sake of a radiant smile or hearty shake of the hand to every thing they hear from men in power without reference to the peculiar exigencies and condition of the people of this country, they will betray the interests of their fellow-men, forfeit the respect of the good, deprive themselves of the approbation of their conscience, and in every way render themselves unworthy of the position they hold in society. They had the choice of smiles and exerts at the cost of sacrificing the interests of the nation ; of all that is most sacred, on the one side ; and the cause of truth, justice, and one's country, but no smiles, on the other; and he hoped they would find no difficulty in making up their mind as to which to choose.

A VOTE OF THANKS TO SIR JOHN BUDD PHEAR.

A Special meeting of the members and well-wishers of the Bethune Society was held at the Theatre of the Medical College, Calcutta, on Monday, the 31st July, 1876, to take into consideration the best means of commemorating the eminent services rendered to the Society by its retiring President Sir John (then the Hon'ble Mr. Justice) Phear.

Raja (then Dr.) Rajendralala Mitra, at the request of the Chairman, proposed the first Resolution, which was to the effect " that this meeting desires to place on record the feeling with which it accepts the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Phear's resignation of the office of President ; and to express its grateful thanks for eminent services rendered by him to the Society during the last ten years ; and for his unwearied exertions to promote the interest and advance the welfare of the people of this country." He

said that he need say nothing to recommend the Resolution to the notice of the meeting. He thought there was no one present who would require any argument from him to prove the propriety of adopting it, and most of them could, he was sure, assign many better reasons from their own personal experience, in support of the threefold object of the Resolution than he could. He knew besides, that the members present felt as warmly on the subject as he did, and needed no advocacy from him. Under these circumstances the best course for him to follow would be to say nothing, and yet he could not allow the Resolution to be put to the vote as a mere formality, a cold, stiff, common-place expression, like the "I thank you" of our every-day life. He had also, as an admirer of their late President, to bear his humble testimony to the eminent services he had rendered to the Society, and to the native community generally. The Resolution proposed referred to three things: 1st, regret at the loss which the Society had sustained by the retirement of the Hon'ble Mr. Phear; 2nd, acknowledgment for the services rendered by him to the Society; 3rd, his sympathy for the people. In a strictly logical thesis, the first should come last, for the services should be proved before the regret could be justified. Now duly to appreciate those services, it was necessary to recall to mind the social position of the person who had rendered them; his official occupation; the sacrifices he had to make in order to render them; and the feeling which actuated him; for the same acts had to be estimated very differently under different conditions. For instance, in Europe, an educated gentleman, occupying a high social position, but having no official duties to perform, might, and indeed often did, for the purpose of simply finding occupation, many kindly acts for his less fortunate neighbours. But his action could not be assessed at the same rate as that of a high English official in India. Here we had no Englishman who was compelled by *enuni* to seek occupation to while away his time; none in office, who had not to devote the whole of his

working hours to the most exacting and arduous duties ; none who, under the peculiar climatic conditions of Bengal, could be otherwise than anxious for rest and relief ; none who had any of those social ties to exert himself beyond what was absolutely required by the exigencies of official duties. Habits, customs, language, religion, and nationality—those potent chains which linked men into one brotherhood—were all against any ardent sympathy between the Englishman and the Hindu. Self-interest in the case of the Englishman for the natives there could be none. The only bond between them was that of one common Government ; but that, alas ! was but too often impotent when ranged against adverse nationalities, and had rarely been able to overcome jealosuy, ill-feeling and rank animosity. Mr. Phear was amenable to all those adverse influences. He was a foreigner amongst the people, an alien to them in habits, manners, customs, and religious ideas, a Judge in the highest tribunal of the country ; his official duties were the most arduous and exacting possible. Interest in the good will of the people he had none. Born and bred in a cold country, he was as subject to the depressing effect of the Indian climate as others of his countrymen. Then the Bethune Society could offer him no special attraction ; the essays and speeches which it had to offer were mostly puerile and common place, and could offer none likely to be edifying to Mr. Phear. But, he, nevertheless, rose above all such influences. He sacrificed his rest and ease, regularly and punctually to attend the meetings of the Society ; he attended to the minutest details of their affairs for ten long years ; always held himself ready to afford the advice and assistance that the Society sought ; and laboured with unflagging zeal and unwearied perseverance to promote its interests (cheers). His lectures, essays and speeches were some of the best that they had had for a long time, and they must have entailed on him much labour and thought, which he could ill-afford to spare amidst his many and harassing official duties. To a person of Mr. Phear's literary reputation

such lectures could bring no literary honours, for no man in his position could think of such a reward. He wrote them solely for the benefit of the Society, and to induce others of his countrymen to come forward and help it ; to afford encouragement to the rising generation of Bengal to betake itself to literary habits; to promote the advancement of knowledge in India. And what he did for the Bethune Society, he did likewise for the Asiatic Society, for the Social Science Association, for the Economic Museum, and for a number of other societies and schools. The speaker had said that Mr. Phear did not belong to his nationality, and that he was an alien and a foreigner. This was true if they measured time by centuries, but there was a time about four thousand years ago (laughter) when his ancestors and those of Mr. Phear formed one race, lived in the same camp, spoke the same language, and worshipped the same household gods. Fraternal misunderstandings of some kind or other led one branch of that race to forsake the paternal home and proceed to the West ; another to go forth to the East ; and a third to march to the South, forming many new tribes, and races and nations. Under Divine Providence, their descendants had again met on one common ground, the Englishman as Governor, and the Hindu and the Parsi as the governed ; and it was highly desirable that they should circulate the calumet of peace and dwell in brotherly love with each other (Cheers). One great object of the Bethune Society had hitherto been to promote this amity and peace, to make the European and Asiatic to meet in good-will and sympathy, in generous emulation, for the advancement of learning, and for the cultivation of literature and science. The gentleman whose name the Society bore was most honourably distinguished by his exertions to carry out this object, and the Bethune School was a monument of his good will for the people. A former President, the Revd. Dr. Duff, was equally distinguished in this respect, and Mr. Phear had most zealously followed his footsteps. Impelled by touch of that sacred spark which makes the

world akin, he rent asunder those fetters which keep men's minds confined to their own kith and kin, and widened the circle of his sympathy. From the patriot he became the cosmopolitan, from the lover of one nation that of many. He did not love his countrymen the less, but he looked upon those amidst whom his lot had been cast in this country with the same kind feeling with which he regarded his own nations ; nor did this widening lead to any dilution of his sympathy. He had been as staunch an Englishman as any of his countrymen, and he felt also for the natives, and whether as President of this Society, encouraging the native and the Englishmen to mix together ; whether at his own social Board, or at the feasts and social gatherings of the people of this country ; whether as a citizen, or a private gentleman, he always bore in mind the maxim that true humanity knew no distinction of colour or creed, and that it was the duty of the ruling race to stretch the right hand of fellowship to those who were less fortunate (Loud cheers). While adverting to this fact, the speaker could not overlook the presence amongst them on that occasion of His Honor the Lieutenant Governor, who had so nobly distinguished his career in Bengal by the same line of conduct and by equal sympathy for the people (Cheers). A civilization like that of the Hindus, of such ancient age, and developed with special reference to their constitution, climate and social requirements, must differ materially from that of Europe, and Englishmen must meet in it much that from their standpoint they could not but think of as something disagreeable, if not positively repulsive, to them; and yet it would be unreasonable to expect either nation to give up at once its own order of things. Mr. Phear felt this strongly, and he attempted to overcome the difficulty by generous toleration, by kind forbearance, and by assuaging irritation. In private intercourse, he was particularly remakable for the deference with which he regarded the opinion of others. The speaker had the misfortune to differ from him in opinion regarding many social and other questions, and when he did so, he did not

meet from Mr. Phear that idle impatience and intolerance which had often fallen to his lot elsewhere, but with every mark of courtesy which he could expect, and the terms of their friendship never suffered the least on account of such differences. This was not saying much, for every gentleman was expected to be civil and courteous ; but, unfortunately among the natives and Englishmen, it was not quite so common as could be wished. He felt certain that many besides himself had met with the same treatment at the hands of Mr. Phear. Adverting next to Mr. Phear's character as a Judge, the speaker went on to remark that the greatest monument of British glory in this country was the High Court. It had been the bulwark of the rights and liberty of the people. No British institution in the country had so completely won the sympathy of the people as that Court, and it was held in the highest esteem. From a moral point of view, the acts of the Executive Government might not always bear a close scrutiny, but the fair fame of the highest tribunal of the land had seldom been soiled by a single stain. It was unrivalled and unique of its kind, and India never had the like of it even in the palmiest days of her greatness ; and Mr. Phear had contributed not a little to support its glory, and was one of its brighest ornaments (Cheers). Comparisons were odious, and he did not therefore wish to indulge in any ; but he could not help remarking that next to administering impartial justice it was essential that the people should be convinced that impartial justice had been done (applause), and there was not a single person over the wide domain, under the rule of His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, who did not entertain in his mind the firmest conviction that his case in the hands of Mr. Phear would meet with unflinching and impartial justice (Loud cheers). Such was the character of the man who was about to retire from the country ; such the gentleman whose resignation they had assembled to accept ; such the philanthropist to honor whom he begged to submit the Resolution for their consideration. His services claimed their most cordial recogni-

tion, and they would be wanting in duty to themselves if they failed to render him their best acknowledgements, and to express their hearty good-will for his future happiness and prosperity.

THE INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE EXAMINATION.

At a General Meeting of the British Indian Association held at the Hall of the Association on Friday, the 15th September, 1876, at 4½ P. M., Raja (then Dr.) Rajendralala Mitra spoke thus on the subject of the Examination of the Indian Civil Service.

Raja (then Dr.) Rajendralala Mitra said, he begged to call attention to the discussion that had recently been going on in the public papers on the subject of the Civil Service Examinations. The changes which had recently been made in this matter were, there could scarcely be any doubt, highly injurious to the people of this country. Whether as candidates for office, or persons to be placed under those candidates when in office, they would for certain suffer. But taking a broader view of the subject, he could also add that they would lower the status of the Civil Service. It was true there was to be no change in the number of marks which were requiste to enable a man to pass the examination, but it was impossible to conceive that a young man of 17, 18, or 19 years of age should possess the same amount of knowledge as a man of 21. It was well known that the period between 18 and 21 was a critical one, and a young man who, at 17, might be considered a promising youth, might easily break down at 20, while, on the other hand, however hard the crammer might ply his art, a man who passed a creditable examination at 21 was not likely to break down afterwards. Now under the new rule, as young men of 17 and 18 would pass

the exmaination for the Indian Civil Service, many would afterwards break down, and the result would be that they would have in future as many hard bargains as they had in the days of the old East India Company. Was it of any advantage then to the country and the service that the age should be lowered ? Doubtless it would be of advantage to *parterfamilias* in England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland, that they should try to get their sons into the service at 18, and if they failed they could at that age get them to enter into some other service, and it was also perfectly true that if a man failed at 21, there was less chance for him to enter another service at that age. But it would not benefit Indians in the least. The course proposed was one which would result in the people of this country having to pay for hard bargains, and to pay likewise for the maladministrations of those who would be placed above them. The change in the age was also a change against the people of this country, because fathers here could not send their sons to England at so young an age to compete at the examinations. No Indian father would send a young man 16 years of age to England to study, and if he (Dr. Rajendralala Mitra) had read anything of History, no English father would send a boy 16 years of age to a country 9,000 miles away, for the purpose of passing a competitive examination. Thus, the authorities had prevented examinations being held in this country, they also practically prevented young men going up to England to pass the examination there. It was all very well to declare in proclamations and despatches that the door was open to all, but things were managed in such a way that the feet of some were pricked in the passage, while others were allowed to pass on. This was playing false with the people of this country. It was saying to them "come in and enjoy yourself," as the stork said to his guest (laughter) ; but there was little chance left for the guest to partake of the treat. It was the farthest from his wish to say that the Secretary of State had deliberately designed these rules for the purpose of preventing the natives of India from going up to England to compete at the examinations,

but he believed these rules were thought advantageous to the people of England, and so they were adopted without any thought as to what would be their practical effect on the people of this country, and that is what he wished to point out.

It might doubtless be said that if the door to competitive examination was closed against the natives there was another and an easier one opened for them ; and a great deal of these changes, he dared say, was owing to the law passed about six years ago for the admission of natives to the Civil Service in this country without any competitive examination. But he could not look upon the new door with any favour. For himself he would say that he would not go to heaven by the backstairs, and the whole drift of this law was to provide a backstairs for admission to the heaven-born service (laughter). A great deal might be said in favour of careful selection after long and well tried service, but it was not always practicable, and it was surrounded by many difficulties which could not be overcome. After all human nature was peculiarly susceptible to butter (laughter) ; if you plied butter ever so slowly but steadily, you would overcome all difficulties at the end. More mistakes were made by the Governors owing to their susceptibility to butter than in any other way. This practice was simply placing a premium on flattery, and could it be said that it was this which was wanted for the good of the country ? Rather that not a single Hindu should be admitted to the Civil Service, than be admitted by means which cannot but cause wholesale demoralization. It would not matter at all if natives never got into the Civil Service, if the price for it was to be so dear. The admission to the service was sought as a right which as subjects of Her Gracious Majesty, people could claim, in common with others, and if they could not openly claim the right, the concession would not satisfy their legitimate aspiration. There were now several Deputy Magistrates doing the work of Joint Magistrates ; hereafter they might be called Joint Magistrate and their salaries might be increased from Rs. 700 to Rs. 900;

but would that be a real concession? It would not be admitting natives into the Civil Service, but simply making some berths accessible to natives which have hitherto been held by Civil Servants. It would amount to a simple change of names in a few cases, and for himself he was strongly opposed to this gilding on base metal. He knew many members of the Subordinate Executive Service, who were well able to take charge of districts. Several of these were his personal friends, but for this very reason, if for no other, he would not wish them to come into the service by the back door. They would not do justice to themselves or their country, by entering a service bereft in their case, of all its rights, privileges, and immunities. The essence of the service was its covenant, its perfect immunity from capricious dismissal, and as long as that was not insured no native could govern a district successfully. Every civilian assistant would be the master of the native Magistrate under the circumstance, and not an officer working under him. A native Magistrate without a covenant would look more after the favour of his young assistants than keep them to their duty. The highest moral courage was what was wanted, and the atmosphere in which a native Magistrate without a covenant would move would nip it in the bud. The natives were not wanting in moral courage, but wanted fair opportunities to bring it to test. There were as good fish in the sea as ever came out of it, and if they had there Madhava Rao and Dinkar Rao, they also had hundreds if not thousands as good who had not had the opportunity of displaying their talent. As long as a native was not admitted to the High Court Bench, the cry was—"qualify yourself for it." But one appointment was made, it gave satisfaction, and those of his countrymen who had been since sitting on the Bench had held their own against the best men from Europe, and the experiment which had proved so successful on the High Court Bench would prove equally so in the district under similar conditions. Under all these circumstances, therefore, especially considering that the age had been lowered, he hoped the Committee

would strongly urge on the Government the necessity of having competitive examinations in this country simultaneously with the competitive examinations in England.

THE DISESTABLISHMENT OF THE CHURCH IN INDIA.

A General Meeting of the British Indian Association was held at the Hall of the Association on Wednesday, the 24th January, 1877, at 4 P. M. *Besides the members present, there were some Parsi visitors from Bombay.*

Raja (then Dr.) Rajendralala Mitra said.—The subject to which he wished to invite the attention of the meeting was a delicate one, as it was connected with religion, and he wished therefore to bespeak the indulgence of his audience.

He entertained very high respect for the old-established systems of religion. Leaving out of consideration all questions about their truth, their dogma, and their philosophy it was undeniable that they had done incalculable good to humanity. Civilization owed its very existence to religion. Take away religion, and the whole fabric of society would at once crumble down into discordant atoms. The highest form of morality was that which was founded on religion, and nothing based on mere philosophy could supply its place; for while the latter was extraneous and adventitious, the former was self-acting, self-supporting, and innate. If the loftiest philosophy failed in a remarkable instance to restrain a distinguished rationalist of the present age from improper association, it would be easy to conceive what would be the lot of the bulk of mankind, cast adrift without the helm and anchor of religion, and the

manifold evils which would distract the texture of society. And to the individual, religion was as all-important as to society. In the hour of tribulation, when human aid is of no avail; under the oppression of the tyrant; in the extremity of disease; under the affliction of poignant grief,—what on earth can afford us so soothing a balm as the solace of religion? It was therefore the farthest from the wish of the speaker to propose anything that would in any way weaken the influence of so beneficial an element in the constitution of society. But he could not shut his eyes to the fact that under particular circumstances religion had proved more injurious to mankind than the greatest commotion of nature. The worst passions of mankind had frequently found the stoutest shield in religion. It was under the cloak of religion that the Hindus and the Buddhists had fought for centuries, destroying hundreds of thousands of the people of this country. The Vaisnavites and the Sivites under the same cloak fought for hundreds of years and deluged the country with human gore. It was in the name of religion that the followers of Muhammad carried war and desolation over the whole length and breadth of Asia and over many parts of Europe and Africa. It was under the plea of religion that the massacre of St. Bartholomew was attempted to be justified and the horrors of the Inquisition reigned for centuries. Religious animosity drove the Pilgrim Fathers from the home of their ancestors, shot the peasantry of Ireland like vermin under every hedge, and expelled a noble race, alike distinguished for intelligence and enterprise from their fatherland to find a shelter in India. It was in the name of God and of peace and good-will for mankind that the wars of the Reformation were pressed to their sanguinary end, and even at the very moment when he was addressing the meeting, the speaker said, the lust of conquest and covetousness, were arming in Europe to let, in the name of religion and peace, the hell-hounds of war against their neighbours. Turks should not rule over Christians, and so Christians may shoot the Turk even

as they are now shooting down and knouting the Tartars, and despoil them of their possessions in Europe, held for centuries. That in a few words was the pith of the Eastern question as regarded Russia; and the circumstance which of all others was the most favourable to making religion a potent instrument for evil, was the union of the Church with State. That union enabled bigoted sovereigns and wicked counsellors to rouse the passions of the masses and carry out their own nefarious purposes. The union was an unholy one, and always tended to mischief. Do away with it, and the causes of war would be cut off by one-half. Nor did the union only foment wars among neighbouring nations; it was a fruitful source, of injustice, partiality, oppression, and tyranny in a hundred different ways, in every Government. The requirements of modern civilization rendered the dwelling of men of different nationalities and religious beliefs under one Government unavoidable and to rule them fairly and impartially, religious neutrality on the part of Government was a *sine qua non*. Mischief was rife wherever that was wanting, and in some parts of Europe even the dead could not find a decent burial, because the State Church stood in the way. It was a matter of congratulation that under the benign sway of Her Gracious Majesty, India had to complain of nothing so outrageous. "While firmly relying on the truth of Christianity, and acknowleging with gratitude the solace of religion," she had granted the people of this country her august promise that "none will be anywise favoured, none be molested, or disquieted by reason of their religious faith or observance, but that all shall alike enjoy the equal and impartial protection of the law." Her Majesty's officers in India had on the whole faithfully carried out Her noble behests. With a small dominant race of one creed and subject races of many diverse sects and creeds, in no part of the world had the problem of religious toleration been solved more satisfactorily than in India. The doings of a few heedless and bigoted officers apart—and which only proved the

rule—the liberty which the natives of this country enjoyed in this respect was greater and more perfect than what was possible in France, Spain, Portugal or Germany in the present day. Indeed, history, whether ancient or modern, could not afford it a parallel. There was however a blot, and so long as it lasted, perfect neutrality in matters of religion, so desirable in every way, could not be consummated. It was not enough that perfect liberty should be granted to persons of every sect to follow their respective creeds; it was essential for perfect neutrality that none should be especially favoured, and this could not be accomplished as long as there existed a State Church, and the relation between the Church and the State became the more galling to all who were beyond the pale of that Church, if it were supported by taxation raised from them. And this was exactly what obtained in India. Amidst a vast and teeming population of Hindus, Mahomedans, Parsees, Jews, Sikhs, Buddhists, and a score of other sects there existed the Established Church of England for the benefit of a few thousands, and at the cost of the people at large. In the province under the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, amidst a population of about sixty-four millions, there were barely ninety thousand Christians, of whom scarcely one-fourth represented the Church of England, and for them alone was a large establishment of ecclesiastics entertained at the cost of the non-conforming millions. Doubtless this state of things had come on gradually, slowly, and imperceptibly. When the East India Company found it necessary to send out priests for the service of their soldiers and civil servants, mostly their own kith and kin, they had every right to do what they liked with the profits of their commerce. It was but fit and proper that in a foreign country the religion and morals of their servants should be taken care of by their master: and this was what was done. In those days Government also supplied Europe medicines free of cost to their servants, because they could not obtain them in the country. The supply was stopped when medicines became readily accessible.

When the Company rose from merchants to the rank of sovereigns, they settled the revenue permanently, and it did not much concern the people how the money taken was disbursed, for in those days there were no fresh taxes, and deficits were made up by other modes than taxation.

But the circumstances had greatly changed since. The country had passed from the hands of the Company to that of the Sovereign. The people now felt they had the same rights and privileges as the most favoured subjects of Her Gracious Majesty. Her Majesty too had solemnly expressed Her Imperial will and pleasure that they would be so treated. Taxation was regulated by annual budgets, and every deficit had to be provided by fresh taxation. The people therefore had an immediate interest in the expenses of Government, and they could not but feel that the expenditure under the head of Ecclesiatical Department was not what it should be. It was utterly uncalled for, for the purposes of State. If all Her Majesty's other subjects including Christians of several denominations, could maintain their religious institutions without State aid, it was expected that those who belonged to the Established Church should do the same. Doubtless the civil servants were brought out to a foreign land, where there was no indigenous source of Church of England priests. But those among the civil servants who were Roman Catholics, Baptists, or Methodists, provided for their religious wants, and so could those who belonged fo the fold of the Established Church. The Roman Catholics were mostly poor, of comparatively less affluence than the Protestants in India, and if they and the whole body of the Hindus and the Mahomedans could support their churches by their own unaided efforts, those who drew salaries of 1,000 to 2,000 or 3 and 4 thousand rupees a month could pay for the cost of their christenings and burials. For the Government to support a large church establishment for them leaving the others to take care of themselves, was a manifest impropriety, and needed only to be agitated to be put down. In some dis-

tricts of Bengal the congregations of the Established Church did not number from three to twenty persons ; while the other religious sects numbered by thousands, and the average between the three and twenty enjoyed the support of Government, and the millions had to shift for themselves. True it was that three persons in a district could not maintain a chaplain ; but if the exigencies of the service sent men to such places, it was not the duty of the Government, to provide for chaplains. As it was, half the districts of Bengal had no ministers of the Established Church, and none had ever heard of tea and indigo companies sending priests to their gardens and factories. The substantial benefits of the service in such cases made amends for its *disgremens*. Then the heavy annual cost for the repairs of churches, and the building of new churches, for which Government always paid half the cost, and not unoften the whole—churches raised with heathen money,—was not in keeping with the terms of perfect neutrality. Was there ever a single pice spent for a mandir, or a mosque, a fire temple or a Baptist chapel? If it be proper that Government should aid the people in the maintenance of their religion, the aid should be extended equally and rateably to all ; if not, it should be withheld from all. A fair field and no favour was what the people wished. And nothing could be fairer. It had been said, that the Government aided the Hindu and the Mahomedan religions by leaving the Debotter and Pirottar lands unresumed, and therefore they had no reason to complain. But it was not so. The lands had been alienated by former sovereigns, and when the Government acquired the country it acquired the property which belonged to those sovereigns, and not what they had already alienated. When the Dewani of Bengal was made over to the East India Company, it did not include the Dibottar and Pirottar lands as taxable property, and consequently the Government by not resuming them had made no concession in favour of Hinduism or Moslemism.

As regards the Military service, the speaker said, the question

was not quite so simple and easily demonstratable. In course of a recent debate in the French House of Parliament on the propriety of military escorts for the burial of heterodox members of the legion of honor, several distinguished generals maintained that the efficiency of the army did not in any way gain by the ministrations of priests, but on the contrary it often suffered. This was however, a debatable point on which the speaker did not like to enter. Admitting that large masses of mostly illiterate men, or men of small education, would benefit by the presence of religious teachers among them, the question arose were Protestants and Roman Catholics alone fit to derive the benefit, or were other sects equally amenable to its influence ? If chaplains were necessary for Protestants, they were equally so for Baptists, Methodists, and followers of the Free Church of Scotland. Their number was not quite so large as those of the Protestants, but if a chaplain for three persons in a district was deemed necessary the number of Free Church of Scotland men in the army will be found to be considerably more numerous. Take then the Native army. Were not the Hindus, the Mahammadans, the Sikhs, and the Gurkhas who (constitute it) three times more numerous than the whole of the European members of the army ? And if religious ministrations be useful to European soldiers, they should be equally so to the natives. Doubtless the Europeans were on foreign service, away from their fatherland. But the native regiments serving in China, Burmah, Egypt, or Abyssinia, were equally away from their native country, and on duty on foreign soil. The old homely adage "what is sauce for the gander was sauce for the goose.', applied very aptly to the case. In making the remarks the speaker wished particularly to disavow all feeling of jealousy or hostility. Relying faithfully and devotedly on his religion for his individual consolation, he earnestly wished that none should be deprived of his own particular creed. The solace of religion was the highest on earth and he would be the last to deny it to his fellow-beings. In dealing with the question, however, next to the equitable he

looked mainly from a financial point of view. The state of the Imperial Exchequer he thought was not flourishing. Clipping and cutting down were the order of the day. A large college had already been abolished for financial reasons; another was doomed, and many useful institutions were tottering. The shears were actively at work everywhere, and knowing men looked upon next March as pregnant with many new schemes of taxation. The time was therefore most appropriate for considering what departments were the fittest for abolition, and he thought that the Ecclesiastical establishment, not only the least useful, but a standing source of heart-burning to the people. He begged therefore to move that the Association make a respectful representation to the Government for that purpose. He knew offence might be taken here and there. Some of these who benefited by the establishment might protest against the move, but the thinking portion of Christains will, he left confident, admit that it was not to the honor of Christianity that it should be supported by forced contributions from those whom the Christains called "heathens;" and the Parliament of Great Britain, which had disestablished the Church in Ireland, will not think the request of Her Majesty's Indian subjects by any means unreasonable. The inertia of vested interests was hard to overcome; but the arguments which had been found so successful in the case of Ireland, will at the end prove equally so for India; and in that belief he left the question for the support of the meeting.

THE TWENTY-FIFTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE BRITISH INDIAN ASSOCIATION.

At the Twenty-fifth Annual Meeting of the British Indian Association held at the Hall of the Association on Saturday, the 12th May, 1877, Raja (then Dr.) Rajendralala Mitra spoke as follows :—

Raja (then Dr.) Rajendralala Mitra said, that when people get into a railway carriage they are fully aware of the time they would have to remain in it, perhaps ten, fifteen or twenty hours or more, and yet before the first hour is out they begin to watch the mile stones, and calculate the distance they have travelled over, and many must have seen with what intentness passengers put out their heads from the windows to know how many miles they had passed. There was a sense of satisfaction, or a sense of relief, in the knowledge which was thus sought by most people. And what was true of railway travelling was equally true of most things concerning life. A periodical examination of the distance travelled over in the course of life, though not always gratifying, was a source of relief, and as we grow older and older we fondly recall to mind the memory of the past ; and if properly utilised, this serves an important purpose. It enables us to realize in our mind what progress we have made and where we have broken down, and the realisation proves, according to circumstances, our guide or our beacon for the future. And the retrospect good for individuals, was better for corporations. Certainly a retrospect of the past was most important in matters relating to public institutions, where the history of the past was generally the light for the time to come, and annual meetings were designed to effect that purpose. They enabled the non-working members to see the substance of all that was done by their delegates in course of a year ; and thereby to judge how those delegates had worked, and to decide whether

they should be allowed to continue in office, or not. Taking the annual report laid on the table in that light, the speaker was glad to be able to congratulate the meeting on the successful working of the Association. There was no falling-off of energy, no want of zeal, and no want of ability in the faithful discharge of its duties to be noticeable in any respect. He might well say the British Indian Association came to existence, very much like Minerva, in the prime of vigour and armed cap-a-pie, and the very first task it undertook was to tackle with the Charter of the East India Company in 1852 (laughter.) And since then there has not been a single movement of social or political importance in which it had not taken a prominent part. The report showed how busily it had been employed. Not a Bill of any importance was introduced into the Supreme or the Local Council in which the Committee of the Association had not taken a part, writing not unoften two or three memorials against it (laughter). It reminded the speaker of a cartoon in the *Indian Charivari* in which an Honorable legislator is represented as working at a mill which poured forth legislative schemes in a copious stream. And the Association seemed likewise to work a mill, and to pour out a counter current of memorials, strong in facts, figures and unassailable logic (laughter). It was true that he could not congratulate the meeting on the invariable success of those memorials. Their prayers were not always granted ; many memorials were thrown out, only a few bore fruit. This was, however, what was to be expected. Remembering the Government under which they lived, and their own political position, the members could easily account for the result. Under the best of circumstances it could not be expected that memorials emanating from a particular corporation would always prove successful. The memorials of the British Indian Association, however, were not all thrown away ; even when their prayers were not granted. They exerted a moral influence which controlled the action of Government in a variety of ways, and proved beneficial to the community at large. They evinced an activity and

watchfulness which could not but subserve the purpose of good government; and it would be a great mistake to suppose that a memorial, the prayer of which was not complied with, was necessarily labour lost. The moral effect of an honest sound memorial was always good, and, it should never be lost sight of. It was not in the power of the Committee of the Association always to command success, and they should be judged not by the amount of success which attended their exertions, but by the amount of work done, and the way in which it was done; and the meeting had in the report submitted ample materials to come to a correct judgment. The members should cast up and see how often they had failed, and how often they had succeeded. If they did not get their prayers granted, they should try again and again till they succeeded. On the whole the speaker believed that they had no reason to be sorry, and he congratulated them on their Committee having done well. It might be said that he (the speaker) was a member of the Committee, and his testimony was not altogether unbiased. He admitted he was a member of the Committee; but he had taken so infinitesimal a part in the work of the Committee that he felt he could not be biased. Besides he had not abdicated his rights as a member of the Association by becoming a member of the Committee; and he was at perfect liberty to express his opinion on the work done by the Committee. He would be the first to denounce the Committee whenever occasion would be given for such denunciation. Referring to the Financial Statement, the speaker called the attention of the meeting to the fact that, notwithstanding heavy expenses on account of establishment, printing, books and contingencies, they had been able to save rupees 2,000 during the past year and their funded assets now amounted to Rs. 19,500. With such a nucleus they should be able to go on increasing, and having at command sufficient funds to meet all extraordinary contingencies. It was gratifying to notice that the example set by the Association had given birth in Calcutta to two offshoots, formed expressly for

the purpose of ameliorating the condition of the people by all legitimate means. He wished them every success, and hoped to see them multiply, and the time come when there would be hundreds of such institutions to advocate the cause of the country. But even above such institutions what were most wanted, were unity and honesty of purpose. They were not in want of mental capacity, nor was energy denied them, as was evident by the fact of their presence there, despite the weather (laughter). It was the want of unity which deprived the people of India of their independence some nine hundred years ago; that want still existed, and until they gained that they would never be able to rise in the scale of nations. It was of all others the most vital requirement for political greatness; and next to it was honesty of purpose. No political Association would prosper whose members did not identify their interests with those of their countrymen. Self would be subordinated to the community and the good of the community should be the good of the individual. Those, who sought their own individual interests only, were not good citizens. They were as bad as Bazaine who sold a part of the patrimony of one of the noblest nations on the face of the earth to serve his own object. They should be denounced as enemies of the community. They could never help the amelioration of of their country's cause. The speaker was sorry that he was led to allude to them, but he felt strongly that it was the want of unity and honesty of purpose which stood in the way of their success, and those who wished for the good of their country should be the first to secure those requirements. (*Cheers.*)

MAHARAJA RAMA NATH TAGORE MEMORIAL MEETING.

A crowded and most influential meeting of the friends and admirers of the late Maharaja Rama Nath Tagore, C. S. I., *was held at the Town Hall on Friday, the 10th August, 1877, at 4-30* P. M., *for the purpose of adopting best means to perpetuate his memory. Raja (then Dr.) Rajendralala Mitra in seconding the second Resolution said :*

I beg to second the proposition which has been just moved. I think it is a fitting sequel to the Resolution which you have so heartily adopted. You have resolved to place on record your sense of the loss sustained by the community in the death of Maharaja Ramanath Tagore, and this is designed to give due permanence and solemnity to that record. Those who have so cordially supported the first, will, I am sure, with equal readiness respond to this proposition. I do not, therefore, think it at all necessary for me to urge anything in recommending it to your notice. The history of memorials dates from the earliest dawn of civilization. Wherever and whenever men learnt to live in society they felt immediately the necessity of erecting monuments to the honor of the dead. Doubtless the earliest monument were of a very primitive character—mere tumuli of earth and rubble stone ; but at the time nothing better could be expected. Cairns, cromlechs and rude stone crosses next came into requisition, and gradually rose to the stupendous proportions of the pyramids and the princely grandeur of the mausoleum, culminating at last in the inimitable beauty of the Taj Mehal at Agra. Those great masters of the sculptors' art, who raised statuary to the highest pinnacle of perfection which none has ever since been able to approach, added statues and busts. But whether as cairns and cromlechs, or mausoleums or statues, every nation, whether rude or civilized, has recognised the im-

portance of memorials. The object is always the same—it is to give permanence to the memory of those whom men have loved, or respected, or held dear, for their virtues and services to their country. The only question, therefore, that we have to decide, is whether the person, whom we have here assembled to do honor is worthy of a memorial. But the requisition for the present meeting and the vast gathering which I see before me today, have fully answered that question. You are come prepared to vote for such a memorial. I can not, however, allow this opportunity to pass without noticing the significance of this gathering. This is an extraordinary occasion : It is altogether unprecedented. I have never seen in this country an occasion like the present. You have often met here to bid adieu to great proconsuls. You have met to welcome the return of successful commanders who had added new glory and new provinces to the Empire. You have gathered to do honor to statesmen who have wielded the destiny of millions. But never in the history of the British Empire in India has such a meeting been held as this. Never did the tribunal in the country, the great officers of State, the leaders of the non-official European community, and the representatives of the nation come together to mourn the loss of a private Native gentleman as they have done this day. (Cheers.) That Native gentleman did not hold any high position in the service ; he had wielded no special power or influence ; he had no power to benefit hundreds ; he had not even the vulgar recommendation of great wealth—a recommendation which, like charity covers many a sin, and, which I am sorry to add, not unoften widely opens the portals of honor. He had, however, one thing of inestimable value, and that a single touch of which makes the world akin and it is a matter of no ordinary gratuition for us, the children of the soil, to notice this demonstration of sympathy for him on the part of the rulers. (Cheers.) The circumstance is unprecedented in the history of India, and for it you must congratulate yourselves. Much has been said about the want of sympathy between the rulers and the ruled ; but the

proceedings of the day offer an emphatic protest against the charge. (Cheers.) And it is especially gratifying that it is the high character of one of your own countrymen which has brought on first this great union of the two races. (Cheers.) Believe me, my countrymen, if you will behave as well as did the late Maharaja Ramanath, you will not only deserve but obtain the same sympathy from your rulers which has been evinced this day for Raja Ramanath Tagore. (Loud cheers.) To the European gentlemen here present I beg to say that we are aliens to you in language, race and religion, and there must be many traits in our customs, and manners, and characters which cannot but prove uncongenial to you. But if you will make due allowance for our peculiar circumstances, if you will bear us company, you will not find us wanting. Our exteriors may be different, but depend upon it, the human heart is alike everywhere and in all climes, and that which will affect the European heart will equally touch that which is in our bosom, and like yours, is susceptible of the same feelings and emotions—it is quickened by the same feelings in Europe as in this country.

Of the antecedents, of the late Maharajah I need say very little. About a century before the time when the Norman Barons in the suite of William the Conqueror landed on England, five Brahmins of great sanctity and profound learning who were held at the time in the highest veneration by their sovereign, came to this country on the invitation of the first of the last Hindu dynasty of Bengal. Immediately on their arrival they obtained the patent of the highest rank among the nobility. And their descendants for the last 900 years have maintained that rank. Bhattanarayana was the foremost among those five, and his descendants have ever since occupied a prominent place in the history of the country. Some of them were Prime Ministers and Chief Judges during the Hindu rule. One of them became the Rajah of Nuddea, and his descendants to this day maintain that rank. In the time of the Mahomedans their descendants owned some of the richest estates in Bengal and were

held in great respect by their governors. One of them was a zemindar in the district of Jessore, and his descendants are the Tagores, whose services to the British Government for over a century, were lately so handsomely acknowledged by Sir George Campbell, late Lieutenant Governor of Bengal. Maharajah Ramanath was the last representative of those Tagores, and well may the Tagore family of Calcutta be proud of him who so nobly maintained the honour of their family, and so greatly enhanced it. If they will only follow his example, the honors of their family will never be tarnished.

Born at a time when there was no good school in the town—in the year 1800,—Raja Ramanath had very little scholastic education. A grammar school kept by one Mr. Sherbourne, afforded him the first rudiments of the English language ; but he had able private teachers under whose care he acquired a great proficiency in English, Sanskrit, Persian and Bengali languages—so much so that in his time he was noted for the ease and grace with which he wrote in English. About the time when he was stepping over the line which marks the boundary between youth and manhood, his cousin, the late Prossunno Kumar Tagore, started a periodical, called the *Indian Reformer*, and Maharajah Ramanath was its most frequent and the ablest contributor. For upwards of 40 years afterwards he never dropped the habit of writing. He wrote frequently for the *Englishman* and *Bengal Harkara*. Under the encouragement afforded him by Mr. Stoquelor, Mr. William Cobb Hurry, Mr. Parker of the Civil Service, and a host of other influential and learned men, he soon made up what was wanting in his collegiate education. The only work of his to which I would draw your attention is one entitled, the "*Impropriety of Combining the Duties of the Collector and Magistrate in the same person.*" This book proves the vast extent of his experience, his thorough knowledge of constitutional law, and the liberality of his sentiments.

The first time he took up public question was in connection with resumption of *Lakraj* land, and though he failed to attain

his object, nevertheless his example produced a complete change in the feelings and motives of the people of this country. In fact, it was the first lesson in politics given to the Natives of this country. His labours in connection with the Landholders' Association were noted for great self-sacrifice and energy. He was the founder and the most devoted supporter of the British Indian Association. In fact he was the life and soul of that institution, and he laboured for its advancement with the greatest devotion and without any interruption or break for a quarter of a century. From the peculiar character of our political condition, it is impossible for a political reformer to move without opposing many a measure of Government, and Maharajah Ramanath in his connection with the several Associations never hesitated a moment to do so, or to declare openly and frankly what he thought. But his sincerity, his loyalty, and his rectitude of purpose were well known, and he never offended the rulers of the land. On the contrary they reposed in him as you had just now heard from the Lieutenant-Governor, every confidence, and no Native in India was a more trusted counsellor.

Though he was not born to struggle for existence, he nevertheless thought labor to be the most important element in the economy of civilized society. He knew well that in the providence of nature idleness meant decadence, retrogression and positive crime, and labour meant life, progress and advancement, and he never for a moment hesitated to make his choice. Throughout his long and prosperous life he strictly acted up to that principle. He was a devout worshipper of duty, and was never wanting. He dreaded idleness, and always courted work. He was more regular in his attendance at the office of the British Indian Association ; more punctual than many of its clerks. I wish that many of my countrymen, who are listening to me, will try to imitate their lamented friend, at least in this respect, and I can assure them that they will largely benefit themselves and their country if they would take a leaf from

the book of life of their lamented friend. I fear I am taking up too much of your time ; but I hope you will excuse me when I assure you that I had an intimacy with this noble man for well nigh forty years ; and in speaking of him I cannot but give vent to my feelings. As a social reformer he was second to none of his time. A friend and associate of Rajah Ram Mohun Roy, he co-operated with him in his works of reform, and was a staunch advocate of everything that was honest, liberal, and benefical to his fellow-men. He sought not *eclat* ; he sought not notoriety or credit for himself ; nor did he rush forward, leaving his countrymen far behind. He sought advancement for his countrymen, and thoroughly identified himself with them. But it is as the political teacher of his country that I desire to offer him my meed of praise. Sometime ago a gentleman remarked that in India the word patriotism was the "offscouring of college declamation." It is not my wish to recall to your mind the history of the many republics that once flourished in this country, nor break a lance with the defamer, for he is no more. Had that gentleman only known Maharaja Ramanath he would never have said such a thing. I do not know whether the Maharajah would have leapt into the chasm in a forum for his country, or headed a band of patriotic soldiers ; the opportunity was never presented to him. But I hold that a man, who systematically and unflinchingly devotes a life of six and seventy years to the good of his country, and never for a moment forsakes its interests ; who amidst calumny and obloquy, and at the sacrifice of all his own interests, consecrates his life to the service of his fellow-men, has in him something more worthy of respect than the "offscouring of college declamation". He may not surprise us with the theatrical effect of jumping into a chasm, but there is at least something more sterling of patriotism than is worth only a sneer. Sir, he, as I have already told you, was our political instructor. It was his light that guided us in our course, it was his light that cheered us in our undertakings. That light has disappeared. Rajah Ramanath Tagore is no more—he is

dead. But to quote the language of a distinguished orator, "there is little in the good and the great that can die." To his country Rajah Ramanath lives and lives for ever. He lives in all that perpetuates the memory of man on earth ; in the recorded proofs of his own good actions, in the offspring of his intellect, in the deeply engraven lines of public gratitude, and in the respect and homage of his fellow-men. He lives in his example, and lives emphatically, and will live in the influence that his life and efforts, his principles and opinions will now exercise and will long exercise on the affairs of his countrymen. For such a man, gentlemen, I hope you will not deem a memorial by any means unworthy. (Loud Cheers.)

THE HON'BLE DR. SIRCAR AND THE FACULTY OF MEDICINE.

At a Meeting of the Senate held on 31st August 1878 to consider the Resolution of the Medical Faculty and Dr. Mahendra Lal Sircar's letter in reference thereto regarding his nomination to that body, Raja (then Dr.) Rajendralala Mitra spoke as follows :—

Raja (then Dr.) Rajendralala Mitra thought the resolution proposed was a great mistake, but it was only one of a series which made a complete comedy of errors. The first error was committed when the name of Dr. Mahendra Lal Sircar was proposed for the Faculty of Medicine. It was not at all wanted ; and it brought discord into a—if not happy at least a—peaceful family. The second mistake was committed by the Faculty of Medicine when they recorded a resolution for the expulsion of Dr. Mahendra Lal Sircar from their body. It was not at all

necessary, and it served only to make a mountain of a mole-hill. If they did not want the breath of homœpathy to come between the wind and their dignity, the Faculty could have easily attained their object without having recourse to so serious a resolution. None knew better than Englishmen how to send a man to Coventry,—it was a peculiarly English practice—and had it been resorted to, Dr. Mahendralal Sircar would have been driven from the Faculty at the very first meeting. He would never have attended a second ; and he would have been got rid of in the easiest way possible. And with such a ready means at command it was a grave mistake to resort to a formal and ostentatious vote of expulsion. The third mistake was committed by Dr. Mahendra Lal Sircar when he wrote the last para of the letter which was submitted at the last meeting, and in which he offered to resign in the event of the Faculty of Medicine not being satisfied with his explanations. Read off-hand and without an eye to criticism it could not be taken in any other sense than that of an unqualified offer of resignation,—a complete surrender at discretion. But at the same time the scarcely noticed little word "thereby" which overrode his offer, kept a wide door open for discussion. When he (the speaker) heard the last para. of the letter he was very much disgusted, and so were many other persons present at the meeting ; and he (Dr. Mitra) had made up his mind not to have any thing further to do with the matter. But he was subsequently obliged to change his opinion. He felt he had a duty to perform. As a member of the University he had a small fraction of responsibility resting on him and he was bound to act accordingly, and hence the part he took in the discussions of the day. The fourth mistake was committed by the Faculty of Medicine ; and he was surprised that it had been committed by so learned a body thorougly conversant with the ways of the world. Had the Faculty taken Dr. Mahendra Lal Sircar at his word, and simply said that they were not satisfied with the explanation given, there would have been an end of the matter, and a

satisfactory end it would have been. Dr. Sircar would have had his mouth closed, and, however much he might have riggled he could not have escaped. He would have been held like an eel in the well-sanded grip of a scullion. Resignation would have been the only resource left him, and a thorough gentleman as he was,—and his greatest enemy did not deny him that attribute—out of respect for his own words he would have resorted to it. But the Faculty descended to argument, and thereby let go their hold. And the arguments they resorted to were of the weakest kind, full of fallacies and misstatements and they altogether changed the aspect of the question at issue. The speaker had the highest respect for the members of the Faculty of Medicine. Some of them were his personal friends, and he was loath to say any thing that would give them offence. As a body of educated English gentlemen the medical profession in Calcutta included members, who were second to no other in thorough scientific attainments and high social standing, and under ordinary circumstances he would never have taken upon himself to criticise the doings of the elite of that body. But truth was supreme, and must override all other considerations. It had been remarked by the mover of the resolution that the arguments have been given out of courtesy to Dr. Sircar. But such a courtesy to one who was recommended to be expelled neck and crop was the merest mockery, and the arguments were so fallacious that they could not by any means commend the action proposed. The learned members of the Faculty were particularly anxious to assure the Senate that they had not been impelled by any vindictive motive in making their proposition. They say, "The Faculty do not, in the very faintest degree, desire to impose restriction upon the most perfect freedom of opinion and practice in medical science," nor do they pretend "to condemn a professional brother" for entertaining views "divergent from their own." But was that correct? Was it consistent with the course of action they had adopted with reference to their erring 'brother'? What their desire was best known to them,

but their action divulged that they were very hostile to the heterodox brother. They proposed to expel him from a place of honor such as it was, and to cast a slur on his professional character, and yet they would fain make the Senate and the public believe that they were not thereby trying to place restriction on perfect freedom of opinion in scientific matters. They would not associate with a man even in public business, and yet they wished to maintain that they were acting fairly and liberally towards him. Such protestations have been made by all who wished to tyranise over their fellow-men, but they have never succeeded in obtaining the confidence of right-minded men. When the Hindus sought to deprive apostates of their ancestral property, they said the apostates deliberately gave up their claim to the property of their ancestors, they kicked away their brethern, and preferred their spiritual to their worldly rights, and they should, therefore, not be allowed to inherit the property of their Hindu parents and relatives. But the British Government thought differently, and that very justly, and passed a law declaring that none should incur any such penalty for the sake of his religious opinion. Thrice did Baron Rothschild appear before the bar of the House of Commons, and thrice was he sent away, because he could not subscribe to certain religious dogmas. There was no question about his fitness for office, he was duly elected by the people, and he had all the benefits of the English constitution secured to him, but his religious opinion stood in the way of his acting as a member of Parliament, and the good sense of the English public and of Parliament at last did him justice by passing the Act for the removal of the disablity of the Jews. The fact was that every let or hindrance to a man's enjoying to the utmost the rights and privileges of the community to which he belongs, and to which he is entitled by his ability and his social position, on account of individual and national opinion on particular matters, was a restriction—nay an injustice of which he had every right to complain. Lord Macaulay had most emphatically shown this in

his essay on the Disability of the Jews, and as every member of the Senate had read it, it was not necessary to quote from it. Dr. Sircar was one of the most distinguished eleves of the University, and he was in every way fit to sit on its councils, and he was to be driven to rustication simply because he entertained heterodox opinion about the doses in which certain drugs were to be administered. If that was not putting him under a ban the speaker knew not what would be a restriction. It was true that the rustication was proposed to be limited to the Faculty of Medicine. But it was not in the power of the Faculty to do more, and so they did not attempt it. The second statement of the Faculty involved a gross fallacy. The Faculty maintain "that Homœopathy is based upon principles and methods of enquiry which are diametrically opposed to what they believe to be true principles and methods of sound, logical, inductive reasoning, a careful and thorough-going research," or in other and simpler words that which was sometimes wrong and sometimes right was to be preferred to that which was invariably wrong. This was a gross fallacy. That which was invariably wrong was not necessarily worse than that which was sometimes right and sometimes wrong. The reverse of the case was often but too true. Pulling out his watch the speaker said, this watch is invariably wrong, it goes two to five minutes too fast or too slow, but it is infinitely better and more useful than the watch that did not go, and was on that account mathematically exact twice every twenty-four hours. (A laugh). The meeting may laugh at the illustration, but it was used by the greatest logician of the day to illustrate that class of fallacy. The next argument urged by the Faculty was that "there would be no common meeting ground of thought or opinion between themselves and individuals who profess or practise Homœopathy." This however was as incorrect as the preceding. All the leading subjects of medical study were common among the Homœopath and the Allopath. They both recognised the same Anatomy, the same Physiology, the same Surgery, the same Chemistry,

the same Midwifery and the same Dentistry, and in all those they had a common meeting ground of thought and opinion. They differed not in the least in such matters, and there could not be any thing but a consensus of opinion regarding them. Doctors were not noted for their unanimity. Proverbially the reverse was the case ; but in all the subjects named they could not but agree to the fullest extent to which any two doctors could agree, and in all of them theyhad an extensive field for meeting in common, as they possibly could wish. The only subject in which the Allopath differed from the Homœopath was regarding the doses of medicine ; in that one rode his infinitesimal hobby, the other the wooden horse of heroic doses. But that single difference could not in any way affect the position of the Homœopath in the Faculty of Medicine. His opinion as that of a single individual could not in any appreciable degree influence the action of the other members. Had the proposition before the meeting been the propriety of appointing a Homœopath as a teacher in the Medical College or even an examiner, the question would have been different. But no such functions appertained to the Faculty ; they were only advisers of the Senate in medical subjects, and the advice always came in the form of resolutions or reports adopted by a majority at a meeting of the Faculty, and the opinion of a heterodox individual would be nowhere in such cases. The next argument was an important one, and if it could be shown that it was correct the Senate should be entirely governed by it. The Faculty urge that "taking an earnest interest in the success and prestige of the Calcutta University, specially in the welfare of its medical graduates, the Faculty cannot consent to be partakers in the introduction of a change which would imperil that success, and deteriorate the value of the University medical degrees." And if this should really be the case, the speaker would be the last to advocate any change. But he was not aware of any change. Believers in Homœopathy were connected with the University from a long time, and nothing in the way of change had lately been pro-

posed. The presence of a Homœopath in the Faculty was practically not more noxious than his presence in the Senate. The speaker was not aware that the medical degrees of the Calcutta University were at present recognized by the Universities and medical corporations in England. He had read in a recent number of the *Indian Medical Gazette* that Sir Joseph Fayrer and other friends of the Calcutta University were only "trying" to get the Calcutta degrees recognised, but that they had not yet attained their end, though there was every likelihood of their attempts proving successful. Nor was he aware of any such act of Parliament as the mover of the resolution had referred to. He was aware of the Bill for the amendment of the Medical Act, submitted to the Upper House by the Duke of Richmond and Gordon the President of Her Majesty's Privy Council, but it had not gone to the Lower House and could not be the law of the land until passed by the Commons at the next sessions. Such as it was, that Bill instead of putting obstructions in the way of degrees tainted by Homœopathic taint, went quite the other way. The Duke of Richmond wished particularly to prevent sectarianism and trade, guild predilections from obstructing the progress of medical science. All he insisted upon was a fair knowledge of the science however acquired. In his speech His Grace referred to clauses 5 to 7 of his Bill which enabled "a person who had obtained a medical diploma entitling him to practise in a colony or in a foreign country to be registered on proof of good character, if the diploma is recognised by the general Medical Council, as representing a degree of knowledge tested by examination, equal to that which is required for obtaining in the United Kingdom a qualification for registration. If the General Council refuses to recognise a diploma, an appeal is allowed to the Privy Council." In this there was nothing that could imply that the registration would be withheld if a member of the Faculty of Medicine of the University granting the diploma should be supposed to be a Homœopath, but on the con-

trary, every assurance was given that should the General Medical Council be guided by narrow sectarian jealousy, or unreasoning antipathy, they should be overridden by Her Majesty's Privy Council, and perfect fair play should be insured to all comers. In the face of this it would be absurd to suppose that the retention of Dr. Sircar in the Faculty of Medicine would be prejudicial to the interests of the University. It was worthy of note that when the Duke of Richmond's Bill was drafted, it must have been well known to him that in Canada the candidates for medical degrees are required to pass an examination in Homœopathy, and to show that they not only knew the principles of Allopathy thoroughly, but were also acquainted with those of Homœopathy, and that notwithstanding this open teaching and learning of Homœopathy, the degrees were declared to be good and fit to be registered in England. Nor was the idea of the appeal for the first time broached by the Duke of Richmond and Gordon. The feeling of trade jealousy which prevailed in certain quarters was well known in England for sometime before, and the Government took particular care to repress it as much as possible. A remarkable instance of this was afforded by the charter of the Royal College of Physicians. The twenty-third section of that charter, which was the Medical Act, Victoria 21 cap. 90, runs thus : "In case it shall appear to the General Council that an attempt has been made by any body entitled under this Act to grant qualifications, to impose upon any candidate offering himself for examination an obligation to adopt, or refrain from adopting, the practice of any particular theory of medicine or surgery, as a test or condition of admitting him to examination, or of granting a certificate, it shall be lawful for the said Council to represent the same to Her Majesty's Most Honorable Privy Council, and the said Privy Council may thereupon issue an injunction to such body so acting, directing them to desist from such practice, and, in the event of their not complying therewith, then to order that such body should cease to have the power of conferring any right to be

registered under the Act so long as they shall continue such practice." In this not only was no restriction put upon heterodox theories in medicine, but a positive penalty attached to refusal to recognise such theories, and with that section before them the Senate could not believe that there was any valid reason to rusticate a learned and honoured member of their body for being suspected to be tainted with some silght soupcon of Homœopathy, though the accused himself repudiated the title of a Homeæpath and claimed that of a physician. The apprehension of non-recognition in England was in fact utterly unfounded,—it was the merest scarecrow, and should not have the smallest attention paid to it. The mover of the Resolution had said something about persons tainted by Homœopathy not being entitled to remuneration under certain medical Acts of England. But surely if the degree-holders could under the proposed Act get themselves registered ; they would find no difficulty whatever in realising their fees. The main object of the registration was to ensure their status in the profession, and having got that they could not be deprived of their dues. But at the worst that would apply to Homœopaths and could not by any means apply to persons who practised Allopathy, but who had obtained their degrees from a University in the Faculty of Medicine of which there was a Homœopath. To connect them as cause and effect was as far fetched as it was unworthy of the learned gentleman who had moved the Resolution. The speaker said he had gone through the arguments *sereatim* to show that there was nothing whatever in the Resolution of the Faculty of Medicine which would for a moment justify the action which the Senate were called upon to take. However unpleasant it may be to say so it was evident that the movement had been made with a view to punish a heterodox brother. The whole course of action of the Faculty showed that it was so. Nor was it at all remarkable or unnatural. It was in human nature to be displeased with those who rose in rebellion against a routine system. The speaker as a Hindu disliked those who became

perverts from his religion and kicked away their parents and relatives, and Christians did the same when persons of their faith renounced Christianity ; and no wonder therefore that allopathic doctors should dislike him who should, after having been brought up in their faith, abjure them and betake to infinitesimal doses, and try to cast a slur on his professional reputation. But the Senate as the governing body of the University should not be influenced by any such motive. The consideration had taken up much time, but the subject was of great importance for the honor and credit of the University, and could not be disposed of in a summary manner. There was yet one point more to which Dr. Mitra would advert before he resumed his seat. He was surprised at the threat conveyed in the remark made by the learned mover of the Resolution to the effect that non-compliance with the request of the Faculty would lead to "a reconstruction of the Faculty." The speaker was extremely sorry to hear that such a threat had been put forth. It was highly improper to attempt to force the Senate to a particular line of action by a threat, and the Senate should on no account be controlled by so unbecoming a means. The speaker had much faith in the good sense of the gentlemen who composed the Faculty, and could not for a moment believe that as servants of Government by whom they had been appointed members of the University, they would evince so reprehensible a spirit of insubordination as to resign their seats in the Faculty, for an appointment legally and fairly made by their superiors—the Senate. No, that was impossible, and the Senate need not at all apprehend any such contingency. The speaker had no faith in Homœopathy, and did not at all care for the theory of infinitesimal. Nor had he any sympathy for those who did so. He did not speak to advocate the cause of Homœopathy nor for the sake of Dr. Mahendra Lal Sircar. Dr. Sircar, notwithstanding the slur that would be cast on him by being driven out of the University, would be no great loser. There were dupes enough in Calcutta who would continue to swallow

his globules and pay him his fee, and he would go on as well as he did ; he would most likely prosper all the better for the prosecution. But the reputation of the University was a matter of vital importance, and the speaker was most anxious that it should not suffer from an unworthy action on the part of the meeting. It rested with the meeting to decide whether the University should be known to the public and posterity as composed of the representatives of those who condemened Galileo, or of educated English gentlemen of the latter half of the 19th century; whether the Fellows should be the leaders of trade guilds and professional jealousy, or liberal patrons of science ; whether they should be men at strike ready to ratten those who did not fall in their ways, or upholders of perfect freedom of thought and action; whether they should be the administrators of a moral Lynch law, or the protectors of honest and independent enquiry into the arcana of nature ; and it was earnestly to be hoped that their decision should not disappoint the public. Dr. Mitra concluded by moving an amendment to this effect that the letter of Dr. Mahendra Lal Sircar and the Resolution of the Faculty of Medicine be recorded.

THE DOORGA POOJA HOLIDAY QUESTION.

At a General Meeting of the British Indian Association held at the Hall of the Association on Friday, the 29th August, 1879, Raja (then Dr.) Rajendralala Mitra thus spoke on the subject of the Doorga Pooja Holiday question.

Raja (then Dr.) Rajendralal Mitra said, the worst month for enjoying a holiday was September, next only to July and August. The country then—at least in Bengal—is under water, and the dry land is reeking in jungle and malaria. No one can then have a run after a jackal unless he chose to wade knee-deep through water and puddle, and the chance of a stray shot at a snipe was associated with that of a sun-stroke or an attack of ague. No one then could be certain of the weather for six hours, and if nothing worse happened, being drenched with a good shower-bath was always on the card. It was not remarkable, therefore, that the Europeans should detest the Dusserah vacation. It can never be well enjoyed by them. Doubtless one could run to Benares to "do" the Taj or the Kutab ; but that cannot be repeated three times without the idea becoming palling. The planters at the time are busily engaged in drying and packing and notwithstanding their proverbial hospitality, are not always at leisure so to entertain their friends as they are later in the season. The case was very different with the Natives employed in public offices. They sought not Shikar, nor the hospitality of planter friends. They had no *penchant* for running after jackals, for the honor of the first spear, or for winning the brush for their caps. A great number of them come from distant homes to centres of toil and business, and the Dusserah is the only time when they can go home, look after their domestic affairs, and observe the rites of their religion. To them the Dusserah vacation is a question of the utmost importance and the agitation which has lately been made to do away with, or curtail

the period of the vacation, has filled them with the greatest anxiety. The agitation commenced with the Chambers of Commerce, and it led to the appointment of a Committee by Government to report on the question. The Committee consisted of two Government officers, some merchants and tradesmen of Calcutta, and two natives. The deliberations of the Committee did not result in a unanimous verdict. It is said the native members have urged that the period of the vacation should continue to be twelve days ; the merchants and tradesmen have recommended four days ; and the Chairman has split the difference, and suggested eight days. The report of the Committee is now before His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, and it is time that the Association should take action about it. Dr. Mitra would be the last to put any obstruction to the advancement of commerce. He was well aware that the country had largely benefitted by its foreign commerce. He knew that that commerce had swelled from 15 to 60 millions within his personal experience. It had enabled the people to make the most of their agricultural labours, and to tide over manifold difficulties and distress, and every thing possible should be done to promote that commerce. But he could not help thinking that the cry was raised not for commerce, but for some other purpose which he did not care to define. Government had already provided for every convenience for the loading and unloading of ships, for Custom-house passes, and for cashing notes, during the vacation that could be reasonably required, and nothing further was needed. Certain it was that those who wished for the curtailment of the Dusserah, frequently urged the Christmas vacation to be extended to ten or twelve days, instead of three days now allowed for it. It was equally certain that the pressure of business in Calcutta during December was ten times greater than what it was in September, and if a vacation in September was injurious to commerce it would be ten fold more so in December. In Madras or Bombay the Christmas vacation extended ten or twelve days and no one heard of the trade and com-

merce there having been put to disorder. The commerce of Bombay was many times greater than that of Bengal and in the busiest of seasons the vacation did no harm there. The merchants and the tradesmen of Calcutta knew this perfectly well, and the obvious inference therefore was that the cry of injury to commerce was not well-founded. But whatever that was, the natives could not but look upon the proposition without the greatest disfavor. It was calculated to deprive them of an opportunity of attending to their religious duties, for the mufusilites could not go home and perform their pujas within four days, nor could they do so in their own lodgings, where they had not the necessary means for doing so. They would be denied the opportunity of visiting their family once a year, and they can have no chance of recruiting their health by periodical relaxation without incurring pecuniary loss. The last argument has been felt by Government as a matter of great importance, and to enable its officers to keep in proper health for the satisfactory discharge of their duties they have devised the rules for furlough, and privilege leave; but the hard-worked keranis, the drudges of office, can never get the benefit of those rules, and rarely if ever obtain them. No head of a Department can grant such leave to his working hands without upsetting his office work. Leave on private affairs can be had by submitting to a deduction of salary which the ill-paid kerani cannot submit to, and the curtailment of the vacation is tantamount to declaring that while the favoured high officers will enjoy privilege leave of one month in every twelve, the poor must rot in his chain, and never have a leave. This is a serious issue; and justice and humanity alike prompt that its decision should not be arrived at without the consideration due to the requirements of the poor. The Europeans whose lot has been cast among the people of this country, who make money by the labour of those people, whom Providence has placed in the position of guardians of the unbefriended poor, should look to the wants and requirements of the subject race with more sympathy than what the

proposition under notice implied. Commerce cannot and does not suffer by the vacation as it is, but the people will suffer grievously if it is curtailed, and it behoves the Association to move in the matter, and to submit a representation to Government which, the speaker was satisfied, would take a just and sympathetic view of the case.

THE PÁRSÍS OF BOMBAY.

The following lecture on the Pársís of Bombay was delivered by Raja (then Dr.) Rajendralala Mitra on February 26th, 1880, at a meeting of the Bethune Society, Calcutta.

Bombay is a paradox. It is described in text-books as an island ; but it forms now as good a peninsula attached to the mainland as any other in Hindustan. The sea has receded from between it and the island of Salsette, and between the latter and the mainland, and the swampy bed thereby formed has been so intersected by numerous breakwaters and causeways, that there is nothing prominent to indicate its original insular character. It is the oldest possession of Great Britain in India ; but, as a palatial city, it cannot be described to be quite five and twenty years old. It represents two of the oldest nations of antiquity, the Hindus and the Pársís ; but its inhabitants are, with some notable exceptions, parvenus of but yesterday. Its houses are the most magnificent ; there is no other part of India where so many rich and lofty mansions can be seen together ; but they are all roofed with tiles of the kind called in Bengal *khaprael*, which the officer in charge of the last Census of Calcutta took as the most prominent characteristic of huts. It claims to be *urbs prima in Indis* ; but both in population and commerce it is inferior to Calcutta.

Bombay has, however, a characteristic of its own which cannot be predicated of any other city in India : it is its vitality—its life, energy, and enterprise. Look where one will, whether by day or by night, everywhere he will find men living, and trying to live, and making the most of their earthly career. There is no Buddha there who plunges headlong into the profoundest abyss of privation and suffering, in order to avoid the chances of disease and pain at some future unknown period ; none is imbued with the pessimism which makes the earth the abode of misery; none to sleep away, or smoke away, his life, taking it to be the *summum bonum* of existence. Every one is hurrying to and fro, fully alive to the value of time, and every one is trying to make the most of his capacity and opportunities. Work, work, work, is his motto, and he tries to be true to it.

Labour is the lot of the bulk of humanity, and there is labour enough—the most rigorous and grinding in all conscience—in other parts of India ; but it is gone through in a toiling, groaning, cheerless way—showing as if the labourers were more dead than alive, and getting through their allotted tasks in a helpless way, obviously compelled by outward forces which they would fain resist if they could. Their houses are dilapidated and weather-worn ; their homes cheerless and miserable—the abodes of dirt and disease ; their clothes dirty and torn ; their existence more a burden than a blessing. They always look behind, on the dead past, and not ahead, for the hopeful future. The very reverse is the case with the people of Bombay. They have no past to think of, no tradition to recount, no bygone glory to bask in. They resort to the place from all parts of India to seek their fortune ; and, when they leave their native homes, they leave all their past associations along with them. In their new abode everything is before them—everything onward and forward,—and they live with all the buoyancy and hope of youth and enterprise. Labour they have, hard and incessant labour—fifty thousand persons labouring in the different mills, from thirteen to fourteen hours a day—and yet they look more

lively and cheerful, and ready to enjoy life with more active zest than what the people do in Calcutta, or Patna, or Benares. And foremost in this race for advancement and struggle for existence come the Pársís, the Yankees of the East, who are as well up in the art of manufacturing wooden nutmegs as in treading the higher and nobler walks of life.

It would be foreign to my present object to trace the history of the Pársís from the time when they first embraced the religion of Zerthust, Anglice Zoroaster, and established one of the greatest monarchies of ancient times. That history is well known to you, and I need not recite it. One circumstance it is necessary to advert to ; it is that which led to the split between the Indo-Aryans and the Perso-Aryans. Long before the dawn of written history, the two had dwelt together on the plateau of Central Asia to the north of the Hindukush, speaking the same language, worshipping the same gods, and owning the closest kinship with each other. In time the canker of religious difference burst forth among them. Those among them who had been devoted to agriculture, liked to worship their gods with the produce of their fields—with fruits, flowers and corn dressed in diverse forms ; but those who tended flocks and led a nomadic life preferred animal sacrifices and fermented liquors. Fire was the great god on earth to both ; both cherished it with ardent devotion ; but the one offered it fleshmeat, butter and fermented Soma liquor, and the other simple vegetable oblations with the juice of the Soma plant in unfermented state. The names of the gods were also changed. At one time the words *Deva* and *Asura* were common to both, and they implied god ; but when the split began, the one took *Deva* to mean god and *Asura* a demon, and the other *Asura* (pronounced *Ahura* *) a god, and *Deva* (pronounced *Deo*) a demon. Under these circumstances they could no longer live together. The worshippers

*Ahura has been, by some, identified with the Hindu Varuna, on the ground of the former being the head of the seven Amaspands, even as the latter is one and the head of the seven Adityas. This appears, however, to be questionable.

of the Devas were driven away from their ancestral home to form the Hindu nation in northern India. The other, pressed onwards by fierce hordes of Semetic colonisers from the east, proceeded towards the south-west to establish the mighty empire of Persia. These last are the ancestors of the Pársís of Bombay.

Nothing is known for certain when this schism took place, nor of the date of the reformation which Zerthust effected in the form of religion which the south-western branch of the original Aryans took away from their native land. In history they are known as the followers of Zerthust with the Avesta for their scriptures.

The empire and the religion of the Pársís flourished from the time of its foundation to the middle of the fourth century before Christ, with a lustre which no nation surpassed in ancient times. But those who had often successfully assailed Greece, was at last assailed by the Greeks, and, before Alexander the Great, had to submit their neck to a foreign yoke. The Pársís believe that this had been preordained, and Zerthust had prophesied that it would be so. A passage is usually quoted from the Avesta, which says :—

"An oppressive king will rise among you ;
"Three times the true faith will be broken ;
"Thrice will it be trampled on and overthrown ;
"The name of that Shah shall be Setamgar.
"Through him the faithful shall be brought to despair."

The Setamgar of this passage is Sekandar or Alexander, and he is said to have "burned the books of the true revelation, and greatly oppressed the faithful." This is, however, denied by some, probably with a view to defend the authenticity of their scriptures as they now exist.

The supremacy of the Selucidans and the Parthians followed, and it did not prove favorable to the faith of Zerthust. It was not until five centuries after that the Pársís regained their independence under the Sassanian king Ardasir Bábegán.

Ardasir ascended the throne of Persia in A. D. 226, and

from that time to the middle of the seventh century, we have a period of 415 years during which the Pársís regained their lost ground, again asserted their high position among the nations of western Asia, and gave new life to their religion of fire-worship. Khushru Praviz was the last amongst the most distinguished kings of the Sassanian line. He ruled from A. D. 582 to 628, a period of 47 years, during which his generals fought many battles, and brought large provinces under his sway. He was, however, himself given to pleasure and sensual indulgence, and, at the close of his reign much was lost which had been gained at an earlier period. He was himself murdered by his son Sherouch who absolved his sin of parricide by falling under an assasin's dagger within eight months of his accession.

The country then, in course of four years,came under the nominal sovereignty successively of seven persons, including two women, Purandukt and Arzemdukt.* Then came Yazdjird, the last of the Sassanians (A. D. 632) ; but he was totally unequal for the occasion, and lost his kingdom in 641 A. D., on the fatal field of Nuhvand, when the lieutenant of Khalif Omar, routed his army, and drove him away from his possessions.

The conquest of the Muslims in those days did not mean only the overthrow of dynasties, but also the suppression of ancient forms of worship. With the Quran in one hand and the scymitar in the other, the invaders overran the whole country, offering to the vanquised the choice among the two. The bulk of the people accepted the dispensation of Muhammad ; some, and not an inconsiderable number, fell under the sword ; and others retired to desert places to save themselves and their religion.

A small band of these persecuted people, forsaking the more populous parts of the centre of Persia—their abodes and resid-

* The following was the order of succession :—
I. Khushru *Parviz.* II. Shorouch. III. Ardasir. IV. Shahryar. V. Purandukht, (daughter of I.) VI. Shah Sherendeh. VII. Arzemdukht, (daughter of I). VIII. Kesra. IX. Farrukhxiad, (natural son of I.). X. Yazdijird (son of IV.).

ences,—their gradens, halls and palaces,—concealed themselves for their faith in the deserts and bleak mountains of Khorasan. A hundred years thus elapsed, but they brought no relief. The enemy pressed closer and closer, and a flight to the then thinly inhabited island of Hormuz or Ormus in the Persian Gulf was the only resource left to them. They retired to it, and betook to the profession of ship-building and maritime commerce. They were, however, not allowed to enjoy the solace of their religion and their humble calling in peace for any great length of time. In fifteen years those who had persecuted them in central Persia, assailed them in their new home. The only alternative now left them was renunciation of their ancestral faith, or exile from their native land. Like the Pilgrim Fathers of a later day and another clime, they preferred their religion to the country of their birth. Their familiarity with ship-building and maritime life had prepared them for the new enterprise, and they bade adieu to their native land for ever. Taking their family and their household gods on board, they set sail in the hope of finding an asylum in the far east. Their ancestors had expelled the Hindus from their birth-place on account of religious differences, and it was from the descendants of those Hindus that they sought protection from religious persecution.

History is silent as to the number of the persons who thus expatriated themselves. It is certain that the exiles did not go out in one body, nor all at one time. Small bands must have started from time to time under different leaders and different circumstances. Even to this day men come from Persia to save themselves from persecution, privation and want, and to better their condition with the assistance of their co-religionists in Bombay.

The history of the first body of pilgrims is recorded in a Persian work called 'Kisseh-i Sanjan.' It was written in 1599, by a Parsi priest named Bahram, son of Kaikobad, of Nausari, from traditions preserved by his ancestors, who were mostly high-priests of the faith. The author describes himself as "an

aged Bahman." This shows that the word Brahman, of which it is a variant, was a term of respect from before the time when the great schism took place which separated the Hindus from the Pársís, and it was retained by both the parties to signify the priesthood. Another work of great value, but of modern date, is the 'Pársí Prakasa.' It contains a chronologically arranged record of all the important events in the growth of the Pársí community in western India. Its author, Mr. Bomanjí Byrámji Patell, has, with great diligence, ransacked all the old records accessible to him to collect his materials, and produced a very useful guide to the history of his race. He begins from A. D. 999, and his book, therefore, does not contain an account of the first immigration of his people.

Sailing estward, the exiles arrived at Div or Diu, a small island a little to the south-west of the Peninsula of Katheyad. Here they abided for nineteen years, but did not prosper. The place was too small for a large colony, and too poor to afford it remunerative occupation. It is probable, too, that the natives of the place did not prove particularly well disposed towards the new-comers.

The priests then consulted the stars, and resolved upon a move to the mainland of India. The ships were ready in port, and the pilgrims set sail for Guzarat in A. D. 717. This date is generally accepted as correct. If so, it would not square with the periods mentioned in the previous parts of this narrative. There is no question that the conquest of Persia by the Muslims took place in A. D. 641, on the 21st year of Hijerah, during the Khalifat of Omar, and a hundred years passed in deserts and on mountains, fifteeen on the island of Hormuz, and nineteen at Diu, would make a total of 775, instead of 717. The difference can be accounted for by assuming that the 100 years in the deserts is a rough way of saying many years, and the 19 at Diu were probably much more than what were actually passed there.

When out on the sea a fearful storm overtook the voyagers,

but, through the blessing of the sacred fire Bahram, it was appeased, and the pilgrims reached the port of Sanjan. This place was situated on a creek about 24 miles south of Daman, and 4 or 5 miles inland. The place now known by the name is a poor one, and contains very few Pársís. Rev. Wilson, in 1830, saw only two ; but in the neighbouring town of Nargol, which was probably at one time a part of ancient Sanjan, there is a large number of the followers of the faith.

The chief of Sanjan at the time was a Hindu prince of the name of Jado Rana, whose identity has not yet been satisfactorily ascertained. Rev. Wilson took the name to be a corruption of Jayadeva, who is supposed to have been a lieutenant "of the Rajput king of Champaner, or perhaps Pattan, formerly the Hindu capital of Gujarat." That the chief was not an independent sovereign is evident from the title of 'Rai Rayan' assigned him. The leaders of the refugees, their Dasturs and Mobeds, waited upon him, and sought his protection. He, however, apprehended mischief from the foreigners, and wished to know fully their character and the nature of their religion before he would grant them an asylum. The account which the chief Dastur gave of his people is thus summarised in the 'Kissahi-Sanjan.'

"Hear, O illustrious prince, what I relate of our faith.
"Be not afraid of us.
"No evil will befall thee from our arrival here.
"We will be friends to all Hindustan.
"We will scatter the head of thy enemies.
"Know for certainty that we worship Yezdan.
"On account of our faith have we fled from the unbelievers.
"We have abandoned all our possesions.
"We have encountered difficulties in a long journey.
"House, and land, and possessions we have at once abandoned.
"Prince of excellent fortune !
"We are the poor descendants of Jamshid.

"We reverence the moon and the sun.
"Three other things we hold in estimation.
"The cow, water and fire.
"We worship fire and water.
"Also the cow, the sun, and moon.
"Whatever God has created in the world
"We pray to, for He has selected them.
"This belt, composed of seventy-two.
"We bind on with solemnity of vows.

* * *

"Moreover the woman who bears a son must observe restriction for forty days.
"And she must remain retired and in seclusion.
"When a woman bears her son before her time is fulfilled,
"Or when a dead child is born to her,
"She is not permitted to go abroad or move out,
"Nor is she allowed to converse with any one.
"For forty-one days she must abide therein."*

This explanation was well received. The respect evinced in it for cows, fire, and the sun was enough to convince the Raja that he had not very heterodox people to deal with ; and he was well disposed to afford them the shelter they sought. At the same time he did not like to let loose a large number of foreigners in his dominion, and, therefore, imposed upon them certain rules which they had strictly to carry out. One of these was the renunciation on the part of the refugees of their native language, and their adoption of 'the vernacular of Hind,' which meant Guzarati. Another was that the women of the foreigners should exchange their own peculiar dress for that of their adopted country. A third was that the men should forego the use of their arms and armour. This implied that the men, too, should change their dress. And lastly, that the marriage ceremony among them should be celebrated at night, and not by day-light. What the object of the last condition was it is not

* *Journal, Bombay Branch of thh Royal Asiatic Society* I. pp. 167ff.

easy to perceive. Probably large processions of foreigners during day-time in the public streets were thought likely to cause disturbance.

These were hard conditions to bear, but, being without resource, the Dasturs were obliged to accept them, and, to the credit of their people it must be said, they have faithfully abided by them. The present vernacular of the Pársí—the language of their home and affection and song—is the Guzarati, all over India, and they cling to it now with the same affection which the natives of Guzarát evince for it. The Pahlavi, which they brought from Persia, has been entirely forgotten by all of them, except a few of their Dasturs and Mobeds who cultivate the literature of their religion. The female dress is strictly Hindu as current in Guzarát, and put on in the Hindu style, except that the upper part of the Sari, instead of passing from the right waist diagonally over the chest to the left shoulder, is carried up the left side over the head, and brought from the right shoulder to be tucked under the left waist. There is another peculiarity, and that is the practice of tying a white handkerchief round the head. It does not obtain among Guzarati women.

To the stranger the dress of the men might, at first sight, appear distinct and foreign, but it is not so. Their turban is the old Hindu Khirkidar, which was at one time worn all over Northern India, and is not altogether unknown even in the present day in Calcutta. Fifty years ago no one would have been allowed to appear at a Durbar who had it not. Only the Northern Indian and the Bengali Khirkidar was not quite so tall as the Pársí head-gear. It was formerly made of white muslin as in other parts of India, and Dasturs and Mobeds still use that material ; but, about the close of the last century, the common people exchanged it for English calico of a dark colour, which is more lasting, and consequently economical. Some use silk of the same colour ; but this is not common. The change, whenever made, was adopted both by the Pársís and the Hindus of Guzarát.

The coat of the Pársí is the old Indian Jama, which has been, in course of time, divested of its pristine amplitude. The skirt has been deprived of its numerous folds, and the double breast has been reduced to a rudimentary form; but the lacing near the neck and over the belly is the same as of old, and the sleeves retain their former length, to remain crumped on the arm. In cloth coats the last peculiarity has been dropped, and this is the case alike with the Hindus and the Pársís. Even at the beginning of this century, the more respectable among the Pársís, used the Jama in its entirety. The Parsis, however, have now their Persian trousers, more or less modified, whereas the Hindus have their *dhuti*. Whether the Pársís ever took to the *dhuti* and subseqently gave it up, or not, has not been ascertained. I have heard, however, that old Pársís in out-of-the way places use the *dhuti*, which would suggest the idea that the refugees did take to the Indian *dhuti*, and have only recently given it up. The shoes are alike for both classes of the people.

It is said that when the Pársís gave up their armour, they symbolised it in a muslin shirt which they wear next to the skin. This is called *sadra*. Its most sacred part is a small pocket near the neck called Gerian, the vernacular form of the Persian grivan for neck. I know not what the practical use of it is: probably there is none. The story of the symbolization of the armour seems to me to be unfounded, for the attachment to the sadra appears to be of an older date than the expatriation of its wearers, since it is used by both sexes, and is referred to in the Avesta.

Another article to which the Pársí is particluarly attached is the *kusti*. It is a hollow woollen cord formed of seventy-two threads, and sanctified by the repetition over it of the kusti-prayer half a dozen times every day. It forms the counterpart of the Brahmanical *paita*, of which it, no doubt, is a reminiscence, only among Pársís, both men and women wear it, whereas among the Hindu it is confined to the male sex. It is, moreover, worn like a girdle on the waist, winding round it thrice, and is

tied, not athwart the chest, but by a knot, which is opened daily, and a prayer is daily repeated when tying it again. These to form "the panoply" in which the Pársís believe they can successfully resist the assaults of Ahriman, the evil principle. Ed-ul Daru, in his 'Mauzat-i-zartusht,' says that "the sadra and kusti preserve the soul from the calamities accruing from Ahriman, and that souls of dead children are prevented by them from becoming devils, *Khavis* and *Jins*." The seventh year is reckoned to be the best time for investing a child with the sadra and the kusti, and the sacrament is usually celebrated with great eclat. Manu recommends the woolen paita for vaisyas, (II. 44,) and the fact would corroborate, to a very a small extent of course, the theory of the Pársís having originally belonged to the agricultural class.

The Pársís also attach much importance to the wearing of a skull-cap under the turban, and leather under their feet. These all were, however, hidden from the sight, and the Hindu King who received the refugees so hospitably could not have well objected to them. Moreover all objections to such minor matters were overcome by the reverence the Pársís evinced for the urine of the cow. They hold it as a matter of the utmost religious importance that the first purification every morning should be the application of a little of cow's urine on the face. This is repeated, should a second purification be needed in course of the day. The fluid is also drunk when an important purification has to be effected. The fluid is called *Nirang*. The urine of the she-goat is substituted when cow's urine is not readily available; and lemon-juice is the substitute for the goat's urine. The rising generation very stoutly object to this purification on the ground of its being unauthorized by the Avesta. Their real ground of objection may be easily imagined.

The land assigned to the pilgrims was a jungle at a short distance from the city. It was cleared by order of the Raja and laid out into a town with corn-fields all round. Its soil was fertile, and the Pársís thrived well in their new home, cultivating

their fields and carrying on various handicrafts. The king also granted them permission to erect a large temple in honor of the great celestial fire Bahram, and the energy, activity and business habits of the people soon secured for them wealth, influence and prosperity. Living in peace with the people, and assimilating, as far as was possible, with their manners, customs, and habits, they soon became a part of the general community, and no feud or dissension arose among them.

Centuries thus passed away, and the descendants of the original settlers spread far and wide. Nausari, Benkaner, Baroch, Baryao, Ankulesvara and Combayat were the places to which they removed largely, and everywhere they were received with kindness and hospitality.

At the beginning of the sixteenth century Shah Muhammad Begoda, of Ahmedabad, heard of the prosperity of Sanjan, and longed to bring it under his rule. He deputed one of his trusty generals, Alif Khan, with a large army to invade the place, and extort tribute from its Hindu sovereign. Though centuries had elapsed since their expulsion from their homes, the Párs'is had not forgotten their hated enemies. They tendered their services to their protector, and 1,400 Párs'is responded to the call of the Hindu Raja to repel the invasion. The war was protracted to many months, and Ardashir, the leader of the Párs'í band, displayed prodigies of valour. But neither the Hindus, nor the Párs'is, nor the two together, could long resist the Muslim aggressors. Ardashir fell in battle ; his followers were all cut up ; the Hindu army was defeated and dispersed ; and the country was laid waste far and wide. Even as in Persia, so at Sanjan the sacred fire was blown out, and the Párs'í home laid desolate. Flight was the only resource now left to the survivors of the colony, and to it they resorted. Bansodah was the place selected, and a great number of the people repaired to it. But the dispersion was general, and most of the leading commercial towns of western India received refugees from Sanjan. Bombay of course received none, for it was not then in existence as a town.

Wherever they went to, they mixed freely with the people, and lived in peace. From the "Satistical Account of Bombay" it appears, however, that in the Kumarika Khestra, at the mouth of the Mahim River, such was not the case. There the Pársís became so strong in numbers, and so overbearing in their conduct, that the Hindus were obliged to leave the place. A reprisal followed, headed by a Benia of the name of Kalyan Rai, and a great number of Pársís was put to the sword, and their houses were sacked and burnt. The rest fled from the place.

At Surat the Pársís lived in large numbers, and made themselves very useful to foreign merchants, by serving as interpreters, contractors, and brokers. They rose in wealth, power, and influence, and on one occasion a single Pársí is said to have had a claim of several lacs against the East India Company. When Bombay was ceded to England there was only one Pársí on the island; his name was Dorabji Nannabhoy. "He had been very serviceable to the Portuguese in their intercourse with the natives. His tact in reconciling conflicting social elements and setting an example of loyalty to the people, recommended him to the English Government."* "But as Bombay rose in importance and finally superseded Surat, the Pársís followed the fortunes of the English to the city, the first settlers having been, it is said, about 100 years ago, invited as skilled ship-builders to manage the Bombay Dockyard."† The chief of the ship-builders was one Lowji, whose descendants still have the management of the Government dockyard. The Pársís were so influential then that "when the Seeddees of Jangirah took possession of the whole of Bombay, one Rustam Dorab Patell fought on the side of the English, and was actually for three days in charge of the Government of the island."‡ About the third quarter of the seventeenth century, the Pársís were very numerous in Bombay, and had built their Tower of Silence on the Malabar Hill.§

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* *Oriental*, 1873 p. 177.

† Maclean's Guide to Bombay, p. 94.

‡ Pársí Prakasa, I.

§ Frayer's Travels.

It has been said above that when they came to India the Pársís brought their women and children with them. That the Dasturs, Mobeds and other more respectable members of the refugees did so, there need not be much doubt, but it is impossible to believe that the relative proportion of the two sexes among the refugees generally was such as to preclude the necessity of foreign accession. Respect for women in Persia in the eighth century was not such as to suggest the idea of a majority of the immigrants troubling themselves with their families when fleeing from their country. Had the feeling been otherwise, still they had not the means of removing them. Even in the present day, with all the convenience and comfort of steamships, railroads, and other means and appliances for easy travelling, of the hundreds of thousands of immigrants who are driven to exile from Europe every year, but a very small portion is represented by women. A thousand years ago the disproportion in Asia must have been considerably greater, and the obvious inference is that the great majority of the Pársí refugees must have allied themselves with the women of Guzarát and that the bulk of the present race of Pársís has more of Guzarati than of Persian blood in their veins.

The religion of the Pársís does not recognise proselytism, and from their position in India the Pársís had naturally to be very exclusive to prevent their fusion with the mass of the people; it was, nevertheless, not difficult for them to accept Indian mates whose children received the religion of their fathers. In the earlier periods of their sojourn here this miscegenation must have been pretty extensive, but with the increase of the Pársí population the necessity for it ceased, and the exclusive character of the community was more strictly preserved, though it resulted in endogamy to a very large extent. The effect of this breeding in and in, must be felt sooner or later, very much in the same way in which it has already been felt among the Jews of western Europe.

The personal names of the Pársís are taken mostly from the

heroes of the Shahnamah and from the names of celestial objects and angels of the Zendavesta. Bahram, the celestial sacred fire, Harmuz, an angel, Ardashir, the founder of the Sassanian line, Nansheerayan, the renowned king, Khurshed, the sun, Mahtab, the moon, Kaikobad, Khushru, Shuhrab, and the like are the leading names. Indian words are, however, not altogether eschewed. The words *Hira* 'diamond,' *Manik* 'emerald,' *Ratan* 'jewellery,' *Moti* 'pearl' &c., &c., are frequently used as personal names, both for men and women. In selecting names the Hindu astrological rule about the propriety of suiting the initial letter to the planet which was on the ascendant at the hour of birth is strictly followed, and no name is accepted which does not comply with this requirement. Moreover, no word, whether Persian or Indian, is used as a personal name without subjecting it to a process of acclimatization which changes it to something very unlike what is current in Persia. This is effected by adding the syllable Ji after the name. This syllable is the abraided remnant, or the vernacular form, of the Sanskrit *jiva* 'living,' the intermediate form being jiu. Both ji and jiu are extensively used in India as honorific or affectionate affixes. No well behaved man in Bengal or the North-Western Provinces mentions the name of Krishna, or Gopala, or Baladeva, without the affix, making Kissenji, Gopalji or Baladevaji. A pandit or spiritual guide when addressed is Panditji or Guruji. In the North-West even the high titles Maharaja or great king and Thakura a god, are not thought enough by themselves when addressing a person, and they must be changed to Maharajji and Thakurji. As an affectionate term it occurs in Bengali letters where a younger brother is always addressed *Bhayijiu*. The Buddhist, not wishing to adopt the Brahmanical term, and yet unwilling to be without a corresponding epithet, used its counterpart, *ayushman* "Life-possessing," for a similar purpose. The Pársís in India could not resist the temptation of adopting a distinctive term of the kind, and took up ji as an affix for their proper names, and this enabled them to keep their names distinct

from those of Muhammadans. Thus Bahram became Bahramji, Harmuz, Harmuzji and so on.

Another custom, purely Indian, but of local currency, was also adopted by the Pársís in the country. It was that of using the name of the father between the personal name and the surname. In the North-West ordinarily a single name is in use, and that is the personal name. In Bengal it is followed by the surname, so that no Bengali can have more than two names. Among the Marhattas and the Guzaratis the father's name intervenes, and the full name of a person is made up of three separate words. Thus Kasinath, the son of Trimbak, and of the country of Telang, which has become the surname, calls himself—Kasinath Trimbak Telang. Surnames are not universal, and when it is wanting, the name is made up of two words. The Parsis have adopted this practice; accordingly Harmuzji son of Shapurji, calls himself Harmuzji Shapurji, adding the surname after it when he has one, say Wadia, which is the surname of several families whose ancestors were engaged in the profession of ship-building. The people of Persia do not, and did not, follow this practice. In Arabia the father's name is usually added to the personal name, but always with the intervention of the word *bin*, an abbreviation of *ebine*, meaning "son of." It is not at all likely that the Pársís copied the practice from their inveterate enemies the Arabs.

The surnames are mostly very modern, and taken from the Indian vernaculars. Thus *Modi*, a grocer, *Bengali*, born in Bengal, *Wadia*, ship-builder, *Seth*, a merchant, *Shroff*, a banker, *Motiwala*, a dealer in pearls, *Mistry*, an artizan, *Patell*, a patwari or village accountant, and so on. The most recent and curious is *Ready-money*. It was adopted within the last 30 or 40 years. Surnames are now frequently dropped, and many persons have none.

As seen in English letters Pársí names are sad corruptions of the sounds they are intended to represent. Cursetji is now, and must have always been, a common name among the Pársís

but many would be puzzled to guess from its component letters that it stands for Khurshedjí. In Nasaranji we have the name of the renowned Nausheravan, and Bomanji is our familiar friend Brahmanji. The well-known Indian word *Manik* occurs as Manock, and Hiraji as Hurji. And it took me sometime before I could make out that my friend Murwanji was no other than Miharbanji, which in every sense of the word he is. In Bengal the only name so transmogrified in Roman letters is Tagore, wherein we have to find out the Indian Thakura ; but among the Pársís corruptions seem to be the rule, and correct spelling the exception.

Pársí female names are mostly of Indian origin, and Hira, Manik, Ratan, Moti, Anna, and such like words are freely used. A common name is Mihr or the moon ; and the honorific epithet usually attached to such names is the Indian *Báï*, the counterpart of the masculine *Jí*. Every woman, however humble her occupation, tacks it to her name. Among the Marhattas and the Guzaratis this epithet is reserved only for ladies of consequence.

The total number of Pársís in India is extremely limited. The Census of 1851 gave a total for the Bombay Presidency of 1,32,563, of which 1,14,698, were assigned to the Town and Island of Bombay, and 17,865, for the Mofussil, including Surat, Broach, Tanna, Ahmedabad, Poona, and other places, Surat heading the list at 12,663. The figures for Bombay were probably not correct, or there must have been considerable dispersion of the Pársís from the town since the date of the Census, for the latest return sets down that number at 44,091 or 6·84 per cent. of the entire town population reckoned at 6 44, 485*.

But small as is their number, the Pársís are unquestionably the foremost in position, wealth, intelligence and enterprise. From the membership of the Legislative Council to the lowest clerkship, every office under Government has been very successfuly com-

* Maclean's 'Guide to Bombay.

peted for by them ; and the number of Párs'is employed in public offices is disproportionately large. The bulk of the trade with China was at one time conducted by the Párs'is, and even now they command a very large share in the external commerce of Bombay. The ranks of the learned professions are also filled by a fairly large number of them, and there is not a trade flourishing in the town, a good share of which is not in their hands. Moreover, as hotel-keepers, purveyors, and wine-merchants, there is not a large city in India where the Párs'is do not occupy a prominent place. Their enterprise in this respect stands in admirable contrast with the apathy so universally prevalent in Bengal.

It is said that the commercial probity of the Párs'is has of late deteriorated. This is probable ; but it should be borne in mind that the temptation in their way has been great, and the progress of honesty among those with whom they have to deal has not of late kept pace with the advancement of commerce. Sixty per cent. of pipeclay in cotton stuffs and similar tamperings in many respects on one side, suggest corresponding tricks on the other. Young Bombay is, moreover, now passing through a total transmutation in education, manners, habits, and customs, and such transition periods are the least favourable to moral excellence.

Unencumbered by religious and caste restrictions, and anxious always to push themselves forward, the Párs'is have taken to copying the English models set before them much more ardently than the Hindus ; and the change it has brought on is immense, and is particularly observable in the domestic habits of the people. At the beginning of this century, the Párs'i at home differed very little from his Hindu fellow subjects. His dress and that of his wife and daughters, it has been shown, deffered not at all from those of the Hindus. The furniture of his house was the same, and he enjoyed life, squatting on cushions and carpets like the Hindus. His victuals consisted of rice, home-made unleavened bread, kid, mutton, and vegetables, dressed ex-

actly in the same way as Hindu dishes are. He ate from plates of silver, bronze, or brass according to circumstances, as did the Hindus ; and his lady sat apart and took hear meals separately from the male members of the family. Among the higher and middle classes of the people of Bombay these customs have been entirely given up. In no respectable Párs'í house are the old *farsh* and *takia* to be met with ; chairs and couches have entirely set them aside. Metal plates have made room for glass and china ; the meal is now served on English tables ; and tea, leavened bread and pastry figure thereon. At ordinary meals the rice and curry, however, still hold their ground, and on ceremonial occasions English dishes are generally eschewed. The restriction about the lady of a family dining with her male relatives has also been to a great extent set aside. Mrs. Bomanji sits at the head of the table, and distributes tea just in the same way as does Mrs. Jones, Brown, or Robinson. Her presence, too, serves in a great measure to improve the decorum and tone of conversation at table. As a rule, however, none but castemen are as yet admitted to the social board. A go-ahead bachelor, or a widower, may, without offence, invite a European or other foreigner to dinner or lunch at his house ; but respectable heads of families do not ordinarily do so. They also do not employ other than their own castemen as cooks.

The change is also very markedly noticeable in matters of education. As regards boys, the necessity for English education as means for earning their livelihood is imperative, and it is not remarkable, therefore, that one should see all the Párs'í boys sent to school. The schools are either supported largely by the Párs'í community, or are self-supporting. From a rough estimate furnished me by a leading member of the community I find the total number of boys attending school is 5,000, which in a community of 44,000 persons must include nearly the whole of the school-going population. Nearly the same amount of attention is paid to female education. There are in the town altogether 37 Guzarati schools, teaching 2,800 girls. The teach-

ing is necessarily of an elementary character ; but careful attention is paid to neatness and cleanliness in writing, and out of some scores of writing-books shown me by little girls of 8 to 10 years of age I did not notice a single blot or interlineation. Their cyphering was also fair, and very creditable to them. Singing and needle-work are taught in almost all the schools, and the piano is, though rare, not altogether unknown.

The standard of education in these schools is not high ; nor is it possible, in the present state of Guzarati literature, the medium through which education is ordinarily given, to secure a higher standard.

In addition to these there are a few schools for education of a higher standard and through the medium of the English language. The most important of these is the Alexandra School for Girls. It owes its foundation to the liberality of some of the leading men among the Párs'is and comprises a large number of young ladies from the higher classes of the Párs'í community. Roughly speaking, the standard aimed at in this school is that of the University Entrance, supplemented by drawing, singing, and ornamental needle-work. The Head Mistress of this institution is an English lady, who evinces great interest for her pupils, and the girls seem to derive much benefit from her tuition. They speak English with ease and fluency ; read poetry with fair attention to rythm and measure ; write neatly and sensibly ; and sing with much pathos and näïvete. I was not particularly impressed with their drawing exercises, but their ornamental needle-work was very pretty. I asked a good many questions from their text-books on the history of India, and they answered them readily and correctly.

It is a matter of complaint with many that the education in these schools, both Guzarati and English, is not practical ; that it unfits the pupils for the faithful discharge of domestic duties; that it infuses in them ambitious ideas and expensive habits ; in short, it produces "young girls of the period," and not meet helpmates for men in moderate circumstances. This is very

likely. Outward models of English ladies set before Hindu and Pársí women, are calculated to bring on this result, in a good many instances. Education, unless thoroughly sound, produces at the beginning false ideas and exaggerated notions of trifles. The idea of the relative importance of particular habits and customs cannot be fairly realised. The remedy, however, rests with the people. The schools, one and all, belong to them, and they can easily modify their curriculum to suit their circumstances.

A more serious complaint is occasionally made ; it is that of consequences resulting from the system of courtship which has superseded the old style of early marriages. Those consequences are, I fancy not altogether imaginary ; but I have so limited a knowledge of the Pársí domestic life, and the question involves so many knotty and delicate issues, that I do not wish to dwell upon them.

The domestic life of the Pársí is a happy one. The presence of his ladies in the drawing-room is a charm which makes his home truly dear to him ; and music and song from his wife and daughters add greatly to its attractions. This is a feature of domestic bliss to which all the other natives of India are strangers. It tends to improve the moral tone of Pársí life, the absence of which is often noticed as a blot on native society elsewhere. There is also an air of freedom and grace combined with unaffected simplicity in the intercourse of Pársí ladies with their guests, whether of their own faith or strangers, which is admirable. I have had opportunities of visting several families, and I always received the kindest treatment from my hostesses. Mr. Bomanji, in a particular house, may be suspicious. He wonders what you are, and doubts whether it is prudent to be very open with you. But his daughters are always kind and courteous and hospitable. They talk with you freely, and invite conversation to entertain you. But above all there is a gentle winsome smile hallowed by an air of unsophisticated simplicity and good nature which cannot fail to impress the beholder. Mrs.

Bomanji may not know English or Hindi to talk with you, Guzarati being the only language she has cultivated ; but this shortcoming does not prevent her from expressing her good-will for her guests. She puts twenty questions through her daughters, and expresses her satisfaction at the opportunity of seeing strangers. Music is a passion with her and she regularly takes her daughters to the Bandstand and the Appollo Bunder, and is not often absent from an opera.

The physical weakness of the Bengali and the overwhelming preponderance of Muslim power in the North-Western Provinces produced a system of zenana seclusion, which never extended to Guzarát and the Marhatta country. There women were never confined behind the Parda ; and Pársí ladies have always enjoyed considerable latitude in going out of their houses, visiting or shopping. They may be seen by scores "eating the air" on the strand along that magnificent sheet of water, the Back Bay, mostly walking, some in their chariots or broughams, or travelling in railway carriages, or taking a constitutional of a morning. Fair and beautiful by nature, and arrayed in their rich coloured silken garb, they trip on the trottoir with charming ease and grace. On more than one occasion I saw a lady taking a walk at 8 o'clock in moon-light without a chaperon, her brougham following her at some distance. Receiving and returning visits are very common among Pársí ladies, and the time usally selected is the afternoon. Tea and cakes are often offered on such occasions.

Pársí ladies are not in the habit of putting on so much jewellery as their Hindu and Mahamadan sisters do. Light earrings, a necklet, or bangles are all that they usally put on. At home a single circlet of green glass at the wrist, is not unoften the only ornament on the person of a young lady. This seems to be the counterpart of the Hindu Karra, for I did not notice it on a young widow whom I met. Rings are not used to any large extent.

In so far the Pársí *pater familias* has not to incur the same

heavy expense which the Hindu is subjected to an account of jewellery. This advantage on the part of the former, however, is more than counterbalanced by the cost of millinery. The habit of going out daily, either for "eating the air," or visiting, or shopping, neccessitates constant change of dress, and rich satins, silk laces, kid gloves, and lace boots, which the Misses Bomanji patronise, are expensive articles, which tell heavily against the purse of the "master of the house." Then the Mademoiselles, though proficient in Berlin wool-work and cap embroidery, fight shy of honest homely sewing, such as their grandmothers practised, and the consequence is that their dresses have to be got up by the Worths of Bombay. This too is a sore point with the "master of the house." An elderly gentleman, the finest specimen of the Pársí gentry I have ever met with, once told me, "Mrs.———brought up all her children without ever employing a nurse, but my daughter-in-law must have a nurse because she cannot sit up at night to tend her sick child." On the whole, however, that bane of maternal affection in English homes in India—the wet nurse, is not an institution among the Pársís ; and, roundly speaking, Pársí ladies make loving wives, kind mothers, dutiful daughters, and affectionate sisters. And the solicitude which a respectable young lady expressed to me for the education of her lately orphaned son,—a boy of six years—afforded me a notable instance of the intelligent interest Pársí mothers take in such matters.

Master Bomanji is a lithe smart youth, (none of his race shows any tendency to excessive corpulency or paunchyness,) and at school is no mean rival of his more intellectual Marhatta formfellows. He may not be always the dux of his class ; but he is rarely far removed from the place of honour. And what he loses in the class-room he makes up on the play-ground. He is always the first bat and the best bowler in his class. It is said that his education diverts his ambition to a wrong channel. He longs more for the ease of the Government office, than for the toil and wealth behind the merchants's counter,

where his ancestors thrived the most. This is, however, a complaint which is common all overIndia, and not unknown in other parts of the world. I once read of 593 applications in England for the post of a tide-waiter, where the official was "to wax rich on forty pounds a year."

The marriage ceremony of the Pársís corresponds very closely with those of the Hindus as regards the observances respected by the ladies. Of course it is also the season for feasting and merriment and exchanging presents, as it is in all civilized parts of the world; but it is unattended by any complicated ritual. There is not even any necessity for going to the temple or the church. It is celebrated in one's private dwelling, if it is large enough for the accommodation of the guests, or in one of the three public houses which are kept ready furnished at Bombay and let out on hire for the purpose. This is a curious arrangement, and I have not heard or read of anything of the kind among any other civilized people. The marital contract is always attested by the priests of the two contracting parties, and consecrated by a short service from the Avesta, which is addressed to the happy couple while they stand holding a piece of cloth between them. Blessings follow, and paddy and cocoanut kernels are thrown over the couple to emphasize those blessings with material symbols.

Divorces are sanctioned by law; but they are not common—certainly not nearly so common as in Transylvania where, among other reasons, the very droll ones of "Augenverdrehen" which means that the party, he or she, rolled about his or her eyes, or "the drunkenness of the father-in-law," are held sufficient to justify judicial separation. The duties of Justice Hannen are vested in panchayets, and they are the antipodes of their brothers of Transylvania, for they seem to be very chary of cutting the marital knot. They are, moreover, governed by an appeal to the High Court of Bombay.

Although free from false notions in many respect, the Pársís evince the most inveterate attachment to the exploded science of

astrology. They will do nothing without consulting the stars, their conjunctions, and their oppositions. They rarely start on a journey without being satisfied that no adverse star stands in the way, and no marriage can be solemnized among them without a careful scrutiny of the relative position and disposition of the heavenly bodies. Their literature on the subject, however, is limited. The only work I know of is a Persian treatise entitled *Siroza* or the 'thirty days,' which gives an account of the thirty days of the month and their influences on human action. It is puerile in the extreme, and as stupid as such books usually are; but it exercises a potent influence on the action of its followers. By way of illustration I shall quote its account of a highly lucky, of a moderately lucky, and of an unlucky, day.

The Pársí era begins from the date of accession of Yazdjird, the last of the Sassanians, in the middle of September, and reckons 12 months of 30 days each, with five intercalary days at the end, which are passed as holidays. The first day of the month is called Behdin, and is sacred to the god Harmazd. "This day is reckoned auspicious for all good undertakings especially such as commencing new buildings, sending children to school (for the first time), and commencing the cultivation of a field or garden. It is auspicious for all kinds of consultation, for selling and for buying, for uniting together, and for marrying; for dressing in new clothes, and for cutting nails. Shaving, going to the bath, and perjury, on this day, meet with instantaneous punishment from God. If a person be taken ill, he will soon be restored to health. The day is well adapted for a short journey. If a person may have mislaid any thing, he will recover it. Should a child be born, it becomes very fortunate, and enjoys long life. Dreaming is attended with good, and the dream ought not to be revealed to any person, till its result be known. The signification of a dream will be manifested and not occult."

The second of the month affords an instance of a moderately

lucky day. It is "sacred to Bahman, the angel who presides over increase of mankind, and protects horses and goats. It is a moderately fortunate day, and well suited to sensual indulgences, to the performance of marriage ceremonies, to the drinking of wine, to putting on new clothes, to scraping nails, to forming new hopes, to contracting friendly alliances, and to giving instruction."

The third day is an unluky one. "It belongs to Ardebehisht, the angel who is the guardian of fire. This day is inauspicious; we should desist on it from doing any work. Fire must be worshipped. Nothing else must be done, lest its issue should prove unfortunate. It is to be maintained that whoever shall work this day, will repent it at the end. The day is certainly not good for selling and buying. The child born this day will be miserable, stupid, deceitful, during a long life. Good reports are neither to be approved nor credited. The visions of dreams will not be realized. Should a person fall ill, his life is in danger. If any thing be lost, it will never be recovered, unless by a special interposition of Providence."*

Other days are described in the same way, some highly fortunate, others moderately so, while others are frightfully bad. The Pársís, however, do not rest satisfied with the guidance of these directions. They resort freely to Hindu astrologers, and no marriage is solemnised without consulting them. Horoscopes are always cast by the same class of persons, and no child is named until its horoscope has been got ready.

Although it is not my object in this lecture to dwell upon the religion of the Pársís, it may not be amiss to cast a glance on their festivals, which display the social side of their character. 'No system of religion designed for the community at large can prosper without festivals. A dull routine of every-day life soon begins to pall—to blunt the edge of enthusiasm, and festivals are the whet-stones which take that bluntness away. They serve

* Journal, Royal Asiatic Society IV. pp. 293, ff.

as whips to lash flagging devotion into ardent zeal. The laity can be held together, not by daily prayers and routine formulæ, but by frequently-recurring festivals in which men, women and children may join for the sake of mirth, gayety, and entertainment, with which religion is blended for their benefit. The character of the festivals may vary with reference to the intellectual condition of the people for whom they are intended ; but in every system of religion which recognises festivals—and there is none that does not—there is an attempt to bend,—to descend from the lofty chair of the solemn and the venerable,—to take the lowly orders of the people by the hand, and to make them partake of the solace of religion sweetened with the honey of entertainment. They serve not only to keep alive the hold of religion on the masses, and to familiarise them with its history, but also to ensure a steady income to the exchequer of the clergy. The necessity for them is so absolute, that even the atheistical Buddhists could not forego the opportunity for them ; and in our own times there is not a sect, whether Deistic, Theistic, Athestic or Positivist, which has not its festive gathering of some kind or other.

'Periodical festivals arise either from astronomical causes, or from a desire to perpetuate the memory of some notable event in the history of a particular religion. The former are universal ; the latter local and particular. Adverting to the former, Wilson, in his excellent paper on the "Religious Festivals of the Hindus," says, "the universal festivals, which are probably traceable among all nations elevated above barbarism, and which may have been handed down by tradition from the earliest periods in the history of the human race, are manifestly astronomical, and are intended to commemorate the revolutions of the planets, the alterations of the seasons, and the recurrence of cyclical intervals of longer and shorter durations" ; in either case they rapidly give a strong hold on the mind of the masses, and, once established, they hold on with great tenacity, and defy the attempt of reformers and the influence of changes in the forms

of religion.'* Hence it is that they turn up under the most untoward and unexpected circumstances. And what is true as regards other people, is equally so with reference to the Pársís. They have a great number of festivals, some of which are astronomical, others historical, and not a few borrowed from their neighbours. The character of their religion does not admit of much outward festive display of processions and exhibitions. Nor is fasting tolerated by it, the torturing of the flesh being considered sinful. But feasting and gayety, the two essential elements of all festivals, recur often and often. The first occasion for such a rejoicing amongst most nations is offerred by the first day of the year. Among the Pársís this occurs in the middle of September when they begin their new year. It is the anniversary of the day of the accession of Yezdjird, the last of the Sassanians of Persia. It is described to be "a day of great and universal rejoicing—when the ties of friendship are drawn closer, when offences are condoned and pardoned, when every heart is filled with gladness, when music is heard in every street, and when every table is loaded with good cheer." The day begins with a special religious service, either in private residences, or at the fire temples. It does not, however, take up much time, and is followed by visits to relatives, patrons, and friends for the exchange of new year's greetings, and taking each other by the hand, a ceremony of much consequence, and known by the name of *Hammamjor* or "joining of hands." Exchange of presents, alms to the poor, and new cloths to the servants, follow, and the rest of the day is spent in feasting, music, singing and merriment. Correctly the name of this festival should be *Nauroz*, or 'new day,' but by some confusion or other this name is now given to the last day of the year, and the first is called *Pateti*, from the Zend *Poitita*, "repentance," which was an expiation for the sins of the year—a sort of closing of the religious ledger, making up all untoward balances by charity.

On the 19th following a ceremony is performed in honour of

* Antiquities of Orissa, II., p. 129,

the manes who have become Frohars or celestial angels. The place for it is a tower of silence or Dokma where the remains of the dead are disposed of. On this occasion all who die at a distance from home in unknown places, obtain a share of wheaten cakes called *darans*, and some fruits. The fruits, however, are actually partaken of by the offerers as an act of religious duty. The manes are called *Pitaras*, the counterpart of the Hindu *Pitris*, and the ceremony is closely related to the *tarpan* before the Durga Puja. A ceremony similar to this is called Muktad, and is celebrated at about the close of the Pársí year.

Most of the festivals are celebrated in honour of the angels Amaspands, the sacred fire Bahman, the solar luminary, Mittaras, and others, and one or other comes on once every month, and of all these, besides a rite called *jasan*, prayers, alms, feasting and merriment are the prevailing characteristics. The anniversary of the death of Zoroaster is observed on the 11th of the month of Deh, which falls about the close of June.

The Vernal equinox has been a season of festivity among the Aryans in all parts of the earth, and the Carnival and the Holi are the types on which the festa is regulated everywhere. The character of the Holi is well known to my audience, and to give an idea of its counterpart, I quote a few lines from a description of the Carnival as it used to be at one time celebrated in Germany. 'The whole of Germany eats and drinks and gives itself up to jokes and sports as if there was not another day to live, and people wear disguises and masks, or stain their faces and vestures with red and black paint, or run about naked like the Luperci, from whom, I think, this annual exhibition of insanity has descended to us." Naogeorgus thus describes this in verse :

"Then old and young are both as much as guests of Bacchus' feast ;
"And four days long they tipple, square, and feede, and never rest.
"————————Feare and shame away ;
"The tongue is set at libertie, and hath no kind of stay.

"All things are lawfull then and done, no pleasure passed by,
"That in their minds they can devise, as if they then should die.
* * * *

"Some naked run about the streets, their faces hid alone
With visars close, that so disguised they may of none be knowne."

The Párs'is, as Aryans, have always observed this festa, but they call it the new year's day of Jamshid, one of their most ancient kings, who first introduce the system of reckoning time by years. They do not, however, indulge in offensive frivolity or obscenity.

The creation, according to the Párs'í scriptures, was effected in six periods, a day of rest intervening after each. Thus there are six days of rest in the year. They are called Gahambars, and most devoutly respected by the orthodox among the Párs'is. But a holiday without feasting would be a bonnet without its trimmings, and feasting and merriment, after the religious rite, are never neglected.

From what has been said above it will be abundantly obvious that the Párs'is in India have led a life of compromise, yielding to their Hindu protectors in all matters of domestic life, and copying them as faithfully as they could. But they have never allowed their religion to be tampered with, nor their community avowedly to amalgamate with the Hindus. They have lived and thrived among the Hindus and with the Hindus, but they have always maintained their distinctive character as a separate and exclusive community.

Want is the most potent incentive to change, and lest that cause should lead to any of their community forsaking them, the Párs'is have devised every means at their command to prevent it. They hold it as one of their most important duties to befriend the poorer members of their body. Funds are always forthcoming to relieve the needy, and such a thing as a Párs'í beggar is never seen in the streets of Bombay. Public women of that sect are also, I am told, unknown. Medical relief is abundant. There are several dispensaries and hospitals for their use ; and

the Pársís have always maintained in Bombay, their high character for liberality and benevolence. Number for number they distribute more money in charity than does any other community in India. And foremost among them has been that truly great and noble man, the first Sir Jamsetji Jijibhoy, to whom is due the largest hospital in this country. That hospital is as handsome in its exterior, as the work done in it is noble. It accommodates six hundred patients, or twice as many as any other charitable hospital existing in any other part of India. The most showy as an exterior is that magnificent pile yonder, (the Fever Hospital of Calcutta), but it cannot take in more than 300 patients. To Sir Jamsetji belongs the honour, also, of establishing an Obsteteric Hospital, which has no equal in any other part of this country. For the relief of distress his Charitable Fund is a highly useful institution. To provide for the intellectual requirements of his fellow creatures, he, moreover, founded the Benevolent Institution, a School of Art, and a Zarthusti Madrissa. There are in Bombay several other endowments due to his princely liberality, and our gracious Sovereign never bestowed a Baronetcy on more deserving an individual than the late noble representative of the Pársí community.

DR. HŒRNLE'S APPOINTMENT AND ROMANIZATION.

At a Quarterly General Meeting of the British Indian Association held at the Hall of the Association on Friday, the 29th July 1881, at 4 P.M., *Raja (then Rai) Rajendalala Mitra, Bahadoor, who was in the chair, spoke as follows* :—

The President, in opening the business of the meeting, said, the report about to be read by the Secretary of the operations of the Managing Committee for the past six months was so full and clear that it was not necessary for him to dwell at length on the several topics embraced in it. It would be seen that the Committee was, as usual, very busily and very usefully employed in the consideration of many important subjects connected with the political well-being of the native community, and the action taken by it in regard to them was in every way judicious. The most important subject was Finance. After the exposure made during the last two years of the sad way in which the financial affairs of the State had been managed, it was necessary that the Association should lay before Government an expression of the wants, wishes and the feelings of the native community in regard to that subject, and the Committee had done well in making a representation about it. Now that the Department of Finance was under the management of a gentleman who had thoroughly established his character for unflinching justice, great prudence, and vast experience—one who brought to his office the wisdom and the sympathies of the administration of Lord Northbrook—there was every reason to expect that the Finances would be placed on a healthy footing, and all complaints and abuses will be put down.

The next subject to which the President wished to invite the attention of the meeting was the representation made in regard

to the appointment of a missionary gentleman to a professorship in the Presidency College. It was not without grave deliberation that the step had been taken, and it was taken on principle, and not with reference to the person appointed, against whom individually the Committee had nothing to say. The speaker was personally acquainted with the gentleman, and cherished much respect for his varied learning and scholarship. To the natives who looked upon the Proclamation of 1858 as the charter of their liberty, who took the assurance given by our gracious Sovereign that she would in the distribution of offices make no distinction on account of race, creed or colour, objection to any appointment on the ground of religious differences would be highly unbecoming ; and had the objections on the occasion under notice proceeded from such a cause, the speaker would have for certain condemned it, and not made himself a party to it. The case, however, was not so. The objection was not to the appointment of a Christian to a teachership in a native school,—there were hundreds of Christian and Mahomedan teachers in schools for Hindoos as there were Hindoo and Mahomedan teachers in schools for Christians, and no one in his senses would ever think of objecting to them. The objection was to the appointment of a person who had given his pledge before God and man to devote his life to the subversion of the faith of the people, and taken in that light,—to an act calculated to injure the religion of the people,—the objection was right and proper. The paramount—if not the sole—duty of a missionary was to propagate the religion of Christ to the overthrow of all other forms of religion. He accepts his office as a missionary under that pledge, and he would be untrue to his pledge and to his God if he did not faithfully, honestly, and to the best of his ability do so. He does not accept his office as a hireling, to do a particular duty during the time he is paid for it, but he accepts it as a religious duty to which he is bound for life in justice to his faith. He thereby renders himself unfit for secular duty—particularly a duty in which he has the training of the morals and education of children of adverse faith.

Thus he incapaciates himself from deriving the benefit of our Sovereign's gracious ordinance. Take the parallel case of a Hindu who takes a pledge before his God that he would devote his life to attempts for the subversion of Christianity. Would he not thereby render himself totally unfit for the training of Christian children ?' And what was true in the one case, was equally so in the other. Doubtless a pledge once given, however solemnly, before God and man, may be revoked under altered circumstances ; but there was nothing to show, that such a revocation had ever been formally made on the appointment of a missionary to a teachership for native children. The pledge before God remains intact, and native children are left to their own devices. Nor is the adverse feeling peculiar to the people of this country—or as some Englishmen are disposed to describe it as native prejudice. The feeling prevails all over the civilized world. A Roman Catholic is as indisposed to send his children to a Protestant missionnary, as a Protestant is to place his children under the tuition of a Roman Catholic clergyman. Other Christian sects evince their feelings in very much the same way. The House of Commons has recognised the reasonableness of this feeling by making large grants for Maynooth and other Roman Catholic Colleges in Ireland in addition to the Protestant State Colleges of the Dublin University ; and the consideration which has been shown to the Roman Catholics of a conquered country like Ireland is what the natives of this country has a right to expect from so liberal a Government as that of Great Britain.

There was another point in connection with the appointment which called for notice. A solemn pledge had been given by Government that all appointments worth above Rupees two hundred would be given to the natives, if the appointments were made in India, and all appointments of Europeans above Rs. 200 would be made in Europe. This rule had been laid down to prevent the inundation of the country by what was vulgarly called Dowb. In this instance the rule had been broken, and every breach implied the taking away of a legitimate berth from the

children of the soil.

The question of Romanization was also one of principle. The orders passed by Government were by themselves of little moment, but they involved a principle which the Committee could not allow to leave unnoticed. From the beginning of this century the Government, with characteristic liberality, had evinced considerable earnestness to render the proceedings of the law Courts easily intelligible to the people. And in 1836 orders were issued suppressing the use of the Persian character and the Urdu language in the Courts of Bengal in favor of the Bengali language and character which were best known by the community. Soon after Persian was replaced by Urdu in the Courts of Behar and the North-Western Provinces, and some laws were enacted to legalise the changes. In 1872 Sir George Campbell noticed that the Urdu as it existed in the Behar Courts was not the language of the people, and therefore recommended the use of the Hindi language and the Kaythi character. The oders under this head were subsequently repeated several times, but to no effect ; the old Urdu continued everywhere, and the Hindi was left uncared for. In the middle of last year peremptory orders were issued prohibiting the use of the Urdu language and the Persian character from the 1st day of this year. Two contradictory movements were thereupon set in motion. The Hindus from the different districts affected, poured in addresses conveying their grateful acknowledgments to His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor for making the language of the Courts intelligible to the masses, while some of the Mahomedans who felt that the orders meant the sweeping away of the last emblem of the former supremacy of their co-religionists in this country, protested against their language and character being placed under the ban. The Mahomedan Vakeels of Patna, who took the lead in the latter movement, based their argument on the hardship of being obliged to learn and use the language of the Kafirs, the Hindus, in the discharge of their duties. The argument was baseless, for they all spoke the language of the Kafirs, and most of them had

their ordinary business transacted in Kafir writing. But the agitation offered a good opportunity to such of the officers of Government as were interested in the Romanization scheme to benefit by it, and some of them suggested that the way to solve the difficulty would be to give them the option of using the Roman letters in writing Hindi. The Government accepted this suggestion, and ordered that in "petitions other than plaints" the Roman character may be used in the Courts of Behar. This involved a very small question by itself, but knowing how some influential officers of Government—District Judges and others—were anxious to make a beginning somehow with the ultimate object of suppressing all the vernacular alphabets, your Committee thought fit to make the representation under notice. The reply of Government to your representation has placed the subject in a new light. It has been said that the orders were intended to relieve the disabilities which would otherwise be imposed on a small class of Mahomedan pleaders, and the operation may perhaps serve to throw some light on the practical working of a system of Romanization, and so be of service ultimately in the settlement of the controversies now current on the subject. The first reason is not tenable. No class of pleaders can carry on their profession by writing "petitions other than plaints." The plaint is the corner-stone of all legal proceedings, and if that must invariably be in the languages of the Kafirs, the pleaders can gain but little by writing "petitions other than plaints" in Roman letters. The objection if any thing is a religious one, and it cannot be met by making the infraction of a religious duty compulsory in some cases, and optional in others. The second reason would logically suggest the idea of there being a desire on the part of Government to supplant the vernacular characters, and experiments are being tried with a view to find out the easiest way of effecting that object. But the speaker did not believe that there was really any such desire on the part of Government. He had the highest confidence in the justice, liberality and wisdom of Government, and could not

for a moment harbour the idea that the liberal British Government would ever tolerate the impolicy which had been the cause of so much national irritation in Hungary, Poland, Schleswig, Holstien and elswhere. The distinguished statesman who was at the head of the Bengal Government was well known for his sympathy for the people, and he would not on any account lend himself to so objectionable a policy.

THE EDUCATION COMMISSION, ETC.

The following speech was delivered by Raja (then Rai) Rajendralala Mitra, Bahadoor, at the Thirtieth Annual General Meeting of the British Indian Association held in the Hall of the Association on Monday, the 10th April, 1882.

It was not without great reluctance that about this time last year I accepted the office of President of your Association. Appreciating highly the honor you conferred on me, I felt that I was not competent to discharge the trust with the same ability and influence which my illustrious predecessors had done. Having sat long at the feet of some of the earlier members to learn the art of political association I knew full well their worth, and could not even in moments of the wildest aspirations think of approaching the high merits of a Radhakant, a Ramanath, or a Prosunno Kumar. I was aware, however, as I told you at the last anniversary, that your Association had outgrown its infancy ; it was in the possession of organs most fully developed ; it was in the hey-day of vigorous manhood ; and needed no longer the kind attention of a dry nurse. You were well able to work, and did work, for yourselves with consummate ability, and was fairly above the necessity of an inspiring, leading guiding spirit. You required only what all public bodies do require, a moderator at

your meetings, and not a Mentor ; and in so humble a position I did not think my shortcomings would be too glaring. I relied, too, on the cordial co-operation of your distinguished Committee, and of your able Secretary. A year has since elapsed ; the period of my office has come to a close, and it is a source of great satisfaction to me to know that I retire without having injured your interests in any way. The report just read shows that during the past 12 months your Committee worked with the same zeal, the same prudence, the same wisdom, the same untiring energy, which had before marked their conduct. No subject of any importance to the well-being of the native community has escaped their notice. They met regularly every week, debated long and carefully every Government measure bearing on the people, and in every instance took action in the way which, you will admit, was perfectly right and proper. Altogether some forty different subjects engaged the attention of your Committee, and some of them were of grave importance. Take for instance the Private Trust Bill, which under plea of regulating private trusts, laid down rules which virtually set aside all trusts for future generations. The main object of a private trust is to keep away property from the immediate control of beneficiaries, but the new law provides that the terms of trusts may be modified with the consent of the beneficiaries, *i. e.* the trustees and the beneficiaries should be the absolute masters of property, irrespective of all conditions of trusts ; in other words trust-deeds in such cases must be mere waste paper. The power given to trustees to nominate their own successors also opened a wide door for mischief. Turning next to the Emigration Bill I must admit that it concerned only the poorest class of the community, but it was just the class which claimed the most earnest attention of your Committee. Whatever the detracters of the Association may say to the contrary in order to weaken its well-earned influence, the Association has always been true to its profession of representing all classes of the community, and the interest of those who cannot help them-

selves, the ryots and the labouring classes, have always been consulted with the greatest care, they have never been so well represented as by the Association. Legislation was originally called for on the subject on account of grievious mismanagement on the part of planters, but the tendency of late has been all on the other way. The Bill under notice was got up mainly in the interest of the planter, under the inspiration of some influential persons in England interested in tea, and contained many provisions highly injurious to emigrants. The two most obnoxious features were the saleability of labourers as chattels along with tea estates, and the power of arresting deserters without a warrant. No justification was attempted of the sale clause by the legislature, but a section of the English Merchant Shipping Act was quoted to show that your Committee were all wrong in saying that the arrest without warrant of the kind proposed was unprecedented in civilizied legislation. Of course arrest without warrant was not unprecedented ; every guardian had the power of arresting without a warrant a run-away minor, and every passer-by a murderer or a thief in the street, but whereas the section quoted required the arrest of a sailor to be reported to the nearest Magistrate within 24 hours, the alleged cooly deserter may be, under the law, carried from one end of India to the other, from Delhi to Debrughur, and kept on travelling for six months without giving him an opportunity to plead his own cause before a Magistrate, and were he after six months or more to prove his innocence the oppressor was to be let off with a fine not exceeding fifty rupees. This lenience to law-breakers was the most offensive feature of the law. The law was defended most strenuously on the ground of the coolies being, better lodged, better fed, better clothed, and altogether better kept than in their own homes. This, however, proved too much. The argument pressed home would justify imprisonment for life. A prisoner at the Alipore Jail is better housed, better fed, better clothed and better tended, than millions of the lower orders of the community. The latter have scarce a comfort to think of, their huts are the most

miserable possible, huts which protect them neither from sun nor from rain; their clothing is a misnomer ; their fare the hardest that ever fell to the lot of the labourer, the most despicable in quality and insufficient in quantity ; their children melt away from starvation ; and their family die like rotten sheep from want of medical aid ; and yet how many of the millions would exchange their lot for a home in an Indian Jail ? No, not one in a hundred and that because they have a will—a feeling which rebel against imprisonment, and the denial of the common rights of man.

The Hindu Wills Act opened the old question of gift *intersivos.* A false interpretation of a logical conceit in the Dayabhaga opened this question, and the Lords of Her Majesty's Privy Council were misled by it, and an attempt was made by the legislature to legalise it ; but on the opposition of Maharaja Jotindra Mohun Tagore the attempt was abandoned.

The Cess Bill discussions call for no remark at this stage. Your Committee have paid every attention to them, and will watch them with unfailing care.

The appointment of a missionary gentleman as a teacher in a Government school formed the subject of one of your representation to Government ; but the Government of Bengal has not deigned to acknowledge your memorial. The subject of Government aid to charitable dispensaries also engaged the attention of your Committee for a time. It was in 1864 that the theory was enunciated that under the principles of political economy it formed no part of Government duty to save people from famine, and a million of people were offered as a holocaust to this Moloch of political economy. The doctrine was abandoned soon after, and a very different principle prevailed during the famine of 1873. It was reserved, however, for the medical advisers of the Bengal Government to revive it in connexion with charitable dispensaries in 1881, and laying down the doctrine that it was beyond the recognised province of Government to provide medical aid to the poor. Yes, men may die by hundreds of thousands

of epidemics of cholera and plague originating from Government neglect of sanitary rules, and it was not the duty of Government to save them! The Government had accepted houses, lands, endowments, and subscriptions from the public to keep up charitable dispensaries; but the medical authorities repudiated the responsibility which the acceptance implied; and proposed the withdrawal of Government from the field. No, I beg their pardon, they did not recommend absolute withdrawal; they recommended it only with reference to the poor miserable wretches of the Mofussil, but admitted the propriety of keeping up large hospitals in presidency towns which provided fat superintendentships for well-paid pluralists. The reply of Government to your representation does not argue the politico-economic doctrine, but says the subject will be taken up by the Local Boards about to be appointed. The other subject noticed in the report call for no remark. The report closes with the calender year, but during the last three months two subjects turned up which call for note. One of them was the Criminal Procedure Bill, in which the old complaint of the people that in the eye of the law the white man was held to be different and of greater importance than the black man, and safeguards were provided for the former particularly as regards the *habeus corpus* sections, which were denied the latter. Your Committee, as usual, protested against them, but to no avail.

The second was the Education Commission; but with reference to it your Committee have not had as yet any thing to do. It is one, however, that should engage your most earnest attention, as it concerns your very existence as an intellectual nation. For the head of the Commission I have the most unbounded respect. His profound erudition, his vast experience, his generous sympathy render him the fittest man for the leadership of the Commission; but his surroundings are not good, and the action of the Commission augur no good to the people. The Commission has arisen from an interested misrepresentation by influential persons in England of the 62nd para

of the famous Education Despatch of Sir Charles Wood. In that para a hope is expressed that a time would come when the Government would be able to retire from active participation in the work of high education. It was a mere flourish—a forecast of fancy—of what may be possible in the distant future, and not laying down a line of policy, for immediate action. Sir Charles Wood knew well that many centuries of national Government had not sufficed to enable the State from retiring from high education in Great Britain and Ireland, and that State aid for universities there amounted to four times as much as in Bengal, while the population of Bengal is twice as numerous as in Great Britain, and he could not possibly have anticipated to effect in India amidst subject nations in twenty-five years what had not been effected in four centuries or more among a free people. His language in the despatch can be reasonably explained in the sense in which I take it. But the language of the Despatch apart, the question to be asked is—is it the duty of a civilized Government to provide for the education of the people ? In theory that is the duty of Government which the people cannot do themselves. Justice, police, protection from foreign enemies, post, public roads, currency and the like, are the duties of Government, because private exertions cannot suffice for them. Education in the same way is a public duty, and to deny it is to repudiate one of the most important duties of Government. Government admits this, but say those who are opposed to high education that the duty is limited to the masses who are unable to help themselves, but do not apply to the well-to-do who want high education. This amounts to the same thing as saying that the police should protect the poor only, and not the rich who can protect themselves ; that the police should apprehend the sneaking rogue that purloins a lota from a beggar, but let alone the burglar who breaks into the treasury of a Maharaja. Logically there is no difference between the two cases. Moreover, I look upon the high schools as nurseries for the supply of competent officers for the service of Government. Government wants competent Moonsiffs, com-

petent teachers, competent Deputy Magistrates, Deputy Collectors, Deputy Surveyors and head clerks, and keeps up the schools for their own use. When well educated Civil Servants were wanted, Government paid five lacs for the Hailebury College. For thirty engineers a year, it pays three lacs of rupees every year for the Cooper's Hill College ; and are two lacs and a quarter too large a sum to pay for two to three hundred officers of the different grades, I have named ? If not, the charge is a legitimate one and should not be withheld. It might be said that if the well-to-do would take care of themselves the Government would find the means for extending popular education. This is, however, not practicable. The people are not in a position to take care of high education. They are a subject race, without any political aspiration. They are divided by difference of nationality, religion, sects and mutual jealousy. They cannot combine to prop up national schools. A witness the other day said before the Commission—let Bengali be the language of education for the lower orders of the Mahomedans, but the said Bengali should be bastardized by a liberal infusion of Arabic and Persian and the teachers should be Mahomedans. Can there be any union for the maintenance of a national college where such feelings prevail ? Sectarian differences have led to the maintenance of separate colleges for the Protestants and the Roman Catholics in Ireland, and we can hope for nothing better in India. The Government Resolution refers only to competent natives, but the Commission in their question have generalised the idea, and adverting to these I say, the only persons who can take up the colleges when the Government drops them are the missionaries, and the question therefore is should the Government maintain non-sectarian colleges at a high cost, or for the sake of economy make them over to the Christian missionaries who work with the avowed object "of killing the religion of the people through the brain" ? Would it be the proper duty to circumvent the destruction of the people's faith by making over the colleges to the mission-

aries ? The plea of economy is of no avail in such a case. Would such a plea be tolerated for a moment in England, if the proposition were that education there be made over to the Jesuit priests lately expelled from France and other places ? It is morally certain that the Jesuits can supply very competent teachers at one-fourth the cost of Protestant teachers. There are other serious questions in connexion with the subject ; but I cannot take them up now. I hope and trust your Committee will watch the proceedings of the Commission with care, and avail themselves of the earliest opportunity to bring to its notice the views, wants, and wishes of the people.

From the summary I have given it is undeniable, and I must admit with regret that the services so zealously and indefatigably rendered by your Committee did not bear all the fruit that you could wish. But that was unavoidable. You are sadly overweighted in the race of life and you must be prepared to see even your best efforts not unoften blown out by the breath of official impatience of criticism. No Government was more virtuously inspired, more honestly intent to rule fairly and justly, than the British Indian Government under which you have the privilege to live ; and the organization of that Government is more perfect than what India ever had. But it is still a bureaucracy ; it may be tempered by the best of feelings ; it may be governed by the most advanced principles of liberality, but still it is a bureaucracy. Business is done in departments, each of which is governed by a chief who is a most perfect master of all that concerns his department, and the department of legislation with which you are most concerned, was most noted of late for its impatience of criticism and of public opinion. In the overflowing fulness of its wisdom it thought that it did not exist for the people, but that the people existed as a *corpus vilas* for it to experiment upon ; and this could not but lead to unwholsome legislation under the best circumstances. The tendency in bureaucracy is to attach higher importance to the comfort and convenience of executive officers than to the right, liberty, safety

and well-being of the public at large. No one can study the course of legislation in India during the last five years without being painfully aware of it. There is, moreover, a sad want of sympathy, and I believe that no legislation can be good which does not consult the feeling of the people, their habits, manners, customs and mode of thinking ; and the bureaucracy would cease to be a bureaucracy which evinced a solicitude for the feeling of the people. Doctrinaire principles of abstract justice may be all right ; but man is not made up only of brains ; there is in him a heart as well as a head ; and no statesman can do his duty satisfactorily who will not recognize this grand truth, and act accordingly.

A new element of mischief has lately arisen to mar the liberal intentions of our rulers. It is what is called 'home influence.' I apprehended it when the charter question was on the tapis in 1852-53, and gave expression to my apprehension at more than one of your meetings. That apprehension has since been painfully realised. You rulers are utterly powerless against it. Some of your rulers glory in it, as did a member of Council when he said "above all I am an Englishman, and the interest of Englishmen must ever be foremost in my mind." Others, more conscientious, more anxious to be just and fair to the people, find it to be a grave difficulty in their way ; but it is an incubus which they cannot shake off, and must therefore submit to its behests. The people must go to the wall if their interests are in any wise opposed to that of the said influence. But even this influence, mighty as it is, is but a feather against a ton of lead when it is shaped and moulded and put into action by the exigencies of party Government. It is then simply irresistible ; and of late you all know India had been made the shuttle-cock of party tournament. For it, you are nothing better than cork and feathers, created to serve as the implement of play. You are but the foot balls for the ins and outs who hunger for the loaves and fishes of office. What then with a bureaucracy, with many unsympathetic rulers, with home influence and party wants, your

position is by no means favourable to any marked on your work. You have to swim against the current, to rise uphill, to run against all powerful private interests, you should therefore be prepared for many reverses. Your motives will be misinterpreted, and your action denounced. The whole armoury of banter, ridicule, scorn and contumely will be hurled against you in season, and out of season. But you must be prepared for them. You hove a sacred duty to perform ; you represent the interests of two hundred millions of human beings. However otherwise divided the people of India may be by diversities of caste, religion, language, and nationality, their political interest is the same—whatever is good for any one of the nations is good for all, and whatever is injurious is equally harmful to one and all ; and you constitute their mouthpiece. If you will discharge your duties honestly, faithfully and unflinchingly, you are sure, sooner or later, to attain your object. You have besides a tribunal to go to which is the best on earth ; it is the heart of the great English nation. However clouded at times by false and sinister representations, it is sound to the core, and no prayer for justice will remain unlistened by it. Be then of good cheer ; mind not your reverses ; laugh to scorn the taunts and jibes of your enemies ; bear in mind the sanctity of your cause ; and apply yourselves steadily to your self-imposed duty, without swerving to the left or the right. Above all mind that you do not yield to sinister motives. Your character is the keenest weapon you have ; beware that it is not blunted by the rust of self-interested or rather of short-sightedness, for interested we all are ; we all try to better ourselves ; only some do it on a broad liberal principle, whereas others do it on a narrow basis—people who in the language of Bacon would set fire to village to poach an egg for their breakfast. If I can attain my object by saying yea to a man in power, what care I if the measure to which I give my assent be injurious to my neighbours, is a feeling which has always exercised an overpowering influence in human affairs, and it is hard to put it down. Party-feeling, cliquism, envy, and jeal-

ousy are, likewise, powerful factors in human affairs. Suppress them altogether you cannot, but believe me that your advancement as a nation will always bear a direct ratio to the extent with which you can overcome them ; and earnest do I pray that the united example of those who have brought up this Association to its present position may long continue to inspire your action.

THE BENGAL TENANCY BILL.

A meeting of the Central Committee of the Landholders of Bengal and Behar, for the purpose of memorialising the Secretary of State and the Viceroy on the subject of the Bengal Tenancy Bill, was held at the Town Hall, on Saturday, the 17th November 1883, at 3-30 P. M. *The meeting was largely and influentially attended by zemindars and other landholders from different parts of the country. Raja (then Rai) Rajendra Lala Mitra Bahadur*, L.L.D., C.I.E. (*President of the British Indian Association and of the Central Committee of the Landholders of Bengal and Behar), was in the chair and delivered the following address* :—

Before proceeding to the programme of to-day, I desire to offer a few words with reference to the nature of this meeting. This is not a meeting of the zemindars of Bengal, Behar and Orissa, nor is it a demonstration with the object of eliciting public opinion. As stated in the circular and advertised in the newspapers, you will perceive that the name given is the "Central Committee." Now this Central Committee consists of barely 59 persons, and in meeting in this Hall our object has not been to have these 59 persons to make a demonstration, but to suit the convenience of many of our colleagues. We represent,

however, a constituency of 150,000 families in the Lieutenant-Governorship of Bengal ; the ancestors of some of these families were at one time sovereigns in their own right ; many more were territorial chiefs of great power and influence; even now many of these families own large estates in more than one district. We meet here as representatives of these families. There are others—a very influential and large class—which represent the capital of this country, either in the hands of natives or Europeans who have cast their lot in the country. The subject before us is of vital importance, and in considering what steps we should now adopt, we want calm, quiet, and serious deliberation, and not harangues and ostentatious sentimentalism, and for this purpose we require a small meeting, and that is what we proposed. It happens, however, that we have here present a much larger number of gentlemen than what, strictly speaking, would come under the name of a Central Committee. These gentlemen are all more or less interested in zemindaries. They feel the warmest sympathy for our endeavours to protect the rights of those who have had interest in land in this country for centuries,—long, long before British rule was established here, —and they have thought fit to aid us and by their presence to give us encouragement under our circumstances. In the name of the Executive Committee, and of the Central Committee, I desire to tender our thanks to those gentlemen for the sympathy they have shown us. (Applause.)

The first subject in connection with the meeting should be an abstract of the proceedings of your Executive Committee. Your Committee have been engaged in the preparation of representations regarding the Bill, and the publication of papers, and the issue and dissemination of information both here and in England. We have established an agency now in England, and we hope ere long that the misrepresentations which have been studiously circulated in England to divert public opinion from the true nature of the Bill will now meet from the hands of our agents and friends there an adequate reply. We have published several

papers, but need not dwell on them. One of them I wish to name because it is one which we have not published. We owe it to our friend, Mr. Bell, who has most generously written an able defence of the proprietary rights of the zemindars in their lands. Mr. DaCosta has also written one during the recent discussions, and our thanks, therefore, are due to him also for it. Other papers have also been written. These I have not yet read. I have heard that an admirable paper has been issued by Mr. Lethbridge, but I will not refer to it now. I cannot, however, allow this opportunity to pass without adverting to the interest which some of the newspapers have taken in our proceedings, and the generosity with which they have opened their columns, both editorial and correspondence, for the discussion of questions connected with the Tenancy Bill. To the editors of those papers our thanks are particularly due. (Hear, hear.) We have an uphill work to do. We, most of us belong to a conquered nation; we are weak, we are without influence, we are without power, and we have to contend against the most powerful bureaucracy on the face of the earth, determined to carry things without regard to law, or reason, or justice, or right; and under such circumstances, however little may be the assistance we shall derive, we cannot but feel deeply grateful for every item of help to give strength to a cause which, however just, is, I am sorry to say, not backed up by power and influence. (Applause.)

The first item on the programme is the correspondence which has been published in the *India Gazette* of October 20. This gives us the opinions of a number of selected officials of the Government on the nature of the Tenancy Bill. You are aware that, when that Bill was drafted by the Bengal Government and forwarded to the Indian Government, we applied for copies, but got none. The Indian Government has recast the Bill and sent it on to the Secretary of State for his sanction without giving an opportunity to the 150,000 zemindars, whose interests were at stake, to say a single word in their defence [Cries of "Shame."] This is an omission to which reference will be presently made

by abler individuals who will address you. But it was with the view of, to a certain extent, minifying that omission, that the Government thought proper to send out the Bill to their selected officials for opinion. I always dislike any such matters being referred to "selected" officials. Pray select not ; for in selecting the human mind is for certain warped, and it selects those who are likely to be of the same opinion with its own.

However, the opinions elicited are strongly and markedly opposed to the principle of the Tenancy Bill. Out of some 60 persons who have sent in their opinions, the great majority are strongly opposed to it. The Bill is a very large and complicated one, and in giving their opinions on such a subject, it is but natural to suppose that 60 men cannot agree in all points. There must be dissentients and differences, and it is not at all unnatural that you have some opinions which are strongly in favour of the policy of the Government. But the great majority are against it. Out of a total of ten Commissioners, the great majority are opposed to it, and I will just read one or two opinions on it.

I first quote the opinion of Mr. Lowis, an officer of many years' experience as a Commissioner. He says :—

> Speaking generally, I may say that the introduction of this measure is viewed by all whom I have consulted on the subject with the gravest apprehension, as tending to embitter the relations between landlord and tenant, and likely to lead to a crop of litigation, with all its accompanying frauds and chicanery, which must in the end injure and not benefit the ryot. These views have been expressed, not only by landlords, but by native officials unconnected with land, and they are based mainly on the conviction that the provisions of the Bill do not deal with facts as they really exist, but seek to evolve and insist on theoretical privileges as appertaining to the ryot which that class have never enjoyed, and which they are for the future to enjoy at the expense of the landlord.

Mr. Beames is another. He has been long connected with the Burdwan Division, and is a philologist, a master of languages, an historian. I cannot say how far his sympathies are with the people, but he is of opinion the Bill will not subserve the only

purpose for which it has been drafted, and his reasons are thus given :—"The ryot suffers from causes over which no Government can have any control; the country is over-peopled; and the intensity of the struggle for existence is due principally to this cause, and not to the incapacity or bad management of the zemindars. Every one *will* marry: and *will* have heaps of children; no one *will* emigrate, a vast majority *will* grow nothing but paddy, and the poorest *will* spend in advance the earnings of ten years on a marriage feast, or a religious ceremony. It is very doubtful whether any legislative measures will improve the condition of people whose manners, customs, and prejudices are so utterly incompatible with improvements as these."

You have, most of you, read the opinions of Mr. Munro and Lord Ulick Browne, who also bring to the subject vast experience; and I need not do more than refer to them. As for the Collectors, there is a very strong consensus of opinion against the leading provisions of the Bill, and the one to which I would call special attention is only three lines in length, but it is very expressive. It is the Collector of Jessore who says :—

I consider the Bill to be a most arbitrary, partial and unjust measure. It will sever all friendly ties between landlords and tenants, and lead to a state of things that must have disastrous results. There is nothing in it that will facilitate the collection of rents, and very little that will do any real good to the ryot. In fact, the Bill seems to have only one object, and that is, to stamp out landlords.

That is the opinion of one who is not one with you in colour, in caste, in language, or in religion. If he has any sympathy, it is for the Government, of which he is a distinguished servant; and there you have his opinion which can scarcely be made more emphatic. If one were disposed to be very critical he could only take exception to the words "stamp out." For my part I have no reason to suppose, and indeed it would be a libel against Government to say, that the "only object" of the Bill is to stamp out landlords. The only object is certainly not that but the practical effect will, I feel convinced, be stamping out.

Attached to this volume is the report from the Government of Bengal. One would suppose that in forwarding the opinions of all the different officers of such diverse characters, the Bengal Government report would give us a connected review of the whole, pointing out the errors of such officers as have committed mistakes, and singling out where the opinions are founded on experience and where they were correct. Nothing of the kind occurs in it. There is a great deal in the name of analysis, but no real analysis of diverse opinions. Every paragraph ends with "Mr. Rivers Thompson thinks" or "Mr. Rivers Thompson is of opinion." Of course, if the opinions had come direct from an Archbishop or from His Holiness the Pope, it would have been something, but when a local Government forwards opinions of this kind, we have a right to expect a little more discussion, a little more criticism, a little more weighing of opinions, a little more extensive review. The more important points connected with the Bill are all more or less touched on, but in not one single one have I seen anything which controverts by argument the position which your Committee have adopted since this discussion has arisen. What has struck me as most remarkable are the new meanings which have been attached to some old words. I am aware that I am not a master of the English language, and I speak with great diffidence when I have to speak of the meanings of English words, but still I must say that it was not until I read this report that I learnt the meaning of the word "distraint." I had always understood it to mean a process which would issue without a court's decree. In ordinary cases in England, the landlord has the right to issue distraints. A landlord not getting in his rent on the evening of Saturday, takes measures to stop the tenant from entering into his own tenanted house. That is distraint. But distraint means a different thing now in the hands of our Legislature and Government. The zemindar has the power to distrain now, and have had it for well nigh a century, but they are to be deprived of it. The Government will not, however, say so in so many words,

Oh dear no! We are told the zemindar will have the power to distrain the crops. But how? Why. They will first bring an action; they will prove their claim; they will obtain a decree, and *then* get out a distraint. I thought the process issued for distraining was something very different from an execution warrant. But we live and learn, and we have learnt from the Government that distraint mean, the same thing as an execution warrants. The cardinal principle on which the report, of the Government is based is "policy;" not justice, not right, not contract, not old binding laws and regulations, but "policy." It is this youthful, enticing dominant wench Policy that overrides the pure and humble demands of the elderly, quiet, homely dames Justice and Fair-play. It is the day now for the initiation of a new policy. That policy says "Do wrong that good may come out of it; rob the zemindar that the tenant may thrive." Acting upon this policy it is proposed that the rights of the zemindars in their soil shall be transferred to the ryot, and the ryot shall have full liberty to sell the land that he rents from the zemindar. I look upon this right of sale as one of the shibboleths of the Radicalism of the day. It is the drop of rennet which curdless the whole of the Government milk of human kindness. I say this right of free sale is a right which will not only impoverish the zemindars, and ride roughshod on legal rights, but reduce the ryots to the level of day labourers, and convert them into candidates for emigration to Demerara. (Applause.) Even the mover of the Bill was aware of this when he spoke with reference to the right to subletting, that it will place the ryots in the position in which they will have no legal protection. The Lieutenant-Governor himself is aware of this. Adverting to the provisions of Chapter XIV he says:

His holding is the occupancy ryot's all, and, deprive of this, he becomes a pauper, unable to sue. He becomes an incumberance on the community which, under the circumstances of the country, cannot provide him with industrial employment, and a source of embarrassment, especially in times of scarcity, to the Government. He nevertheless advocates that very measure which will for certain create a large mass of men who are to

be, in his own language, "an incumberance on the community, and a source of embarrassment to the Government."

This is, gentlemen, the great good which has been offered to the ryot at the sacrifice of the zemindars. Mr. Thompson will not listen to history, he will not listen to experience, he will not listen to old laws. Though the Bill is a standing protest against everything which is existing, with everything which belongs to the present day, with everything which is now current, still, like the drowning man, the Bill is to clasp custom as the only protection for justifying this severe measure. You perhaps think I am exaggerating ; you perhaps think that I have not fully either understood or appreciated the Lieutenant-Governor's arguments. Here are his very words :—

It may be accepted that freedom of transfer was not an incident of the *khudkhast* ryot's holding ; and the Lieutenant-Governor is not unmindful of the fact that in Jhansi, in the Deccan to some extent, in the Sonthal Pergunnahs, and possibly in other parts of India, free sale has had evil results on a thriftless peasantry. If he had to deal with the question as one of mere theory, Mr. Rivers Thompson would probably not remain uninfluenced by its historical aspect, and by the dangers of vesting a population with transferable rights of property before habits of thrift among them had been fully confirmed. But the Lieutenant-Governor has here to deal with a question, not of theory, but of actual practice. It is here not a matter of "introducing a source of temporary prosperity," and encouraging an "increase of thriftlessness on the one hand, and of greed on the other," as was the case in the Deccan, but of confirming and recognizing a growing custom, to which the needs of the country have spontaneously given birth, and which has so far produced no evil results."

There it is—custom, and the only time that custom has been appealed to, to protect the principle of the Bill. But there is something else. There are certain figures which have been produced from the Report of the Registrar-General of Assurances of last year, which show the number of sales which have taken place. I find out that there were in all 17,835 permanent tenures sold during the course of the year, and of occupancy rights 32,633 at the same time. The Lieutenant-Governor appeals to these facts conclusive. I have looked at them, and my impression has been

that nothing more condemnatory of the measure than these figures has been put forth. Out of these 17,835 plus 32,633, or 50,516 sales, in one year, 23,970—one half nearly passed away from the hands of the ryots to those of money-lenders and zemindars, that is, you are depriving, even now, the ryots, at the rate of 24,000 every year, of their occupancy rights. Take each tenant to be the head of a family of 5 persons the net pauperization per annum is now going on at the rate of 1,20,000 persons. Let the advantage of rack-rent which is proposed to be given to the purchasers, be well known and the ratio of outside purchasers will rise to 95 per cent, and the sales will multiply many fold as then instead of increasing our paupers at 1,20,000 a year you may safely rely on five lakhs. (Hear, Hear.) But to turn from the sales to the purchasers. Who were the purchasers ? Why, they were the money-lenders and zemindars ; that is, the very men from whose clutches the Government is most anxious to save the ryots. Will not the zemindars and the indigo planters know their own interests ? Will not they buy all the occupancy tenures which come into the market in order to get out of the limitation of rents as fixed in this law ? They will be entirely oblivious of their own interests if they do not, and rest assured that they will not be so ovlivious. It is a legal right that is offered, and they will be perfectly justified in dealing with and in trying to make the best of it. The reply made is that the evil will right itself ; that Political Economy will soon set the right the evils which may be first produced by this law. I have not a doubt about the effects of Political Economy. I certainly believe that the laws of Political Economy will do their work in time, and produce their effect without let and hindrance ; but I have some experience of the mode of action of Political Economy. It was in 1864 or 1865, that I called on Sir Cecil Beadon, on three or four occasions, to try and induce him to do something for the starving people of Orissa ; and every time Sir Cecil told me "don't you be uneasy : the laws of Political Economy are certain and if there is a demand there

will be a supply." Of course I went away without saying a word in reply. What was the result ? Political Economy did do its work, did send a supply ; but Political Economy did not run as well as poverty and suffering and famine, and starvation, and these killed one million out of three millions in Orissa before Political Economy brought relief. (Hear, Hear). In the present instance I have no doubt that Political Economy is wholly in the right, but before it reads its lessons to dissuade people from marriage, and the expenses attendant on marriages ; before the people learn to forego the duty of burning or burying their parents ; before they abjure their religion and abstain from shrauddhas and other religious rites and ceremonies ; before they learn it is better to starve and die than to go to money-lenders for help, the speculative proclivities of zemindars, money-lenders, land jobbers and others will have brought off every inch of land in Bengal which is worth buying, and when the land is in the hands of those communities no kind of political expedient, except the bayonet perhaps, and the gun, will save it from their hands. This is the good which has been promised to the ryots.

One great objection on the part of zemindars to free sale of occupancy tenures is the inevitable evil of being forced to receive rival and inimical zemindars and wicked mischievous intriguing ryots in their estates. The table published by Government shows that for 1,108, zemindars, who purchased tenures in their own estates 22,899 got entry in their estates against their consent, and 3,182 were rival zemindars. The Government admits the evil. But there is one relief offered. The Government says "we will relieve the ryot, and we will not do any injustice to the zemindar, and give them the right of pre-emption, and so prevent any outsider from entering. On the face of it this is really very kind ; but if you will look into it you will find it is the veriest Dead Sea apple which ever any Government condescended to offer. The zemindar may buy, but he is not to get anything of what he buys. The value of the occupancy land depends on

the difference between product on the one hand, and the cost of production and the rent on the other. To put the thing clearly; let the produce be worth Rs. 4, rent Rs. 1-8, and cost of production Rs. 2, the value of the land in this case is represented by the difference, eight annas, and at ten years' purchase the amount is Rs. 5. The Government says let the land be sold at Rs. 5, to the zemindar, but he is not to get the eight annas, for he is to let it out at the old rent. In other words, the Government says :—"Let the zemindar pay the full price and buy it, and get nothing." I can illustrate this better by saying that I have an old horse for sale, and I ask my respected friend to my right, Sir Jotendra Mohun Tagore, to buy it, and give him permission to buy it. I tell him "Here it is, pay the full market price, and take it, and keep it, and feed it, but you are not to clap a saddle on its back. If you do so, there will be a law court for you. And at the end of a year the first way passer may snatch it away for you." That is the pre-emption I give and that is what the Government offers the zemindars. "You can," says the Lieutenant-Governor, "gain something by fines, but nothing by way of enhancements, and if you do not dispose of it this year, why we will snatch it away from you." That is the right which the Government has given in the name of pre-emption.

I have one more word to say, and that is with reference to those who will benefit by the Bill. It is not the zemindars ; for they, according to the Collector of Jessore, are to be stamped out. It is not the ryot, for even the Lieutenant-Governor says in one place, that there is an over-population, and emigration is needed. It will not be the public at large, for it is no concern of theirs. Who then, will benefit ? The public say that it is the Government for whose benefit the law will be changed. I believe that impression is false, but there it is, and the chain of evidence produced by the native public in support of the opinion, is certainly very imposing. There was a time when the revenue had to be collected under torture and a great deal worse in the time of Warren Hastings. A great many oppressive acts unnamable

were committed in his name, and the name which his agent got from the great orator Burke was "Factor General of Bribes."

In this volume which I hold in my hand there are some fifty pages devoted to the manner in which revenue was collected by the myrmidons of Warren Hastings in Rungpur, Dinagepur and Behar, but I shall read out only one paragraph.

> On the same principle, and for the same ends, virgins, who had never seen the sun, were dragged from the inmost sanctuaries of their houses; and in the open Court of Justice, in the very place where security was to be sought against all wrong and all violence (but where no judge or lawful Magistrate had long sat, but in their place the ruffians and hangmen of Warren Hastings occupied the bench), these virgins, vainly invoking heaven and earth, in the presence of their parents, and whilst their shrieks were mingled with the indignant cries and groans of all the people, were publicly violated by the lowest and wickedest of the human race. Wives were torn from the arms of their husbands, and suffered the same flagitious wrongs, which were indeed hid in the bottoms of the dungeons in which their honor and their liberty were buried together. Often they were taken out of the refuge of this consoling gloom, stripped naked, and thus exposed to the world, and there cruelly scourged; and in order that cruelty might riot in all the circumstances that melt into tenderness the fiercest natures, the nipples of their breasts were put between the sharp and elastic sides of clept bamboos."

This is the language of Burke, and that was the way in which the revenue was then extorted. Lord Cornwallis came and put a stop to all this; and brought peace and prosperity and good will all over the whole of Bengal, and Europeans even were loud in his praise. The people themselves attested their respect for the memory of the great nobleman in the statue which stands in this house. But Government gratitude is an evanescent virtue, and does not last long, and with an empty treasury after the Nepalese and the Pindari wars, in 1816, the rulers of the country thought that something, should be done to make the land yield more. The permanent settlement of Lord Cornwallis was found to be a drawback, and a serious drawback. The first step taken was the resumption measures of 1819 in order to assess all lands which were said to have invalid tenures. That measure had to

be compromised as the hue and cry was great and the Government paid the cost at ruinous rates. An Act was then passed for the sale of zemindaries on the strength of a minute by Mr. Halliday who said it is the interest and duty of Government to buy up zemindaries at a nominal price. A greater crisis came when with the mutiny came a deficit. Then the income-tax was extended to permanently settled lands. It had to be given up because of the oppression it caused. Then the Government passed three Acts for taxing zemindaries. They are called cesses. They are as good as revenue, and they have added taxation upon zemindaries to the extent of three-quarters of a million, that is, an addition of 25 per cent. But the Government are not yet satisfied. They wish for something yet, and they have touched on occupancy tenures in the name of the ryot, by which land can be permanently snatched from the zemindar, and made accessible to further taxation. That is the impression abroad. I look upon this chain of argumentation as the noveltists' network of circumstantial evidence which melts away under the first ray of truth. I don't for a moment believe that the concatination of circumstances implies a settled policy. Even as our forefathers of the Vedic times used to describe every god to be the supreme for the time being, without thinking of the one they had before described as such, so does Government. In 1871 Sir George Campbell issued a manifesto giving the most solemn assurance that the Census then in hand had no ulterior fiscal object, and before the moon had twice filled her horns issued another in which among other projects, he recommended a Poll Tax, that is the Census was to count the heads and the next measure was to tax every head, and yet he was not insincere. In regard to Vedic gods Max Müller calls this hienotheism and our Government is I fancy actuated by a principle of political hienotheism. But for all that this political hienotheism is calculated to do immense mischief, and I leave it to you to decide what you should do under the circumstances.

THE ILBERT BILL, ETC.

The following speech was delivered by Raja (then Rai) Rajendralala Mitra, Bahadoor, at the Thirty-Second Annual General Meeting of the British Indian Association held in the Hall of the Association on Wednesday the 7th May 1884.

Raja (then Rai) Rajendralala Mitra said :—Gentlemen, before putting this resolution to the vote I deem it necessary to give you a brief summary of the operations of this Association during the past year. This is the more necessary as, owing to the illness of my friend to my right, he has been obliged to give you only a summary of the report, instead of reading the whole of it. It would have been a cruelty to have asked him to read the whole of it. It is so long. But it is full and, I dare say, those of you who have read it will be perfectly satisfied that the congratulation with which it opens, is well justified. I entirely concur in the opinion of your Committee of Management that this is an occasion when your Committee may fairly congratulate you upon the success which has attended the operations of this Association. Thirty-two long years have elapsed since the estalishment of this Association, and I have been connected with it nearly the whole time, with the exception perhaps of two months or three. I am therefore in a position to say that the institution was never in a more flourishing situation than it is now. Your list of members is extending steadily and satisfactorily; your financial accounts show a handsome saving, a funded balance of Rs. 19,500. You have a good rental from the godowns and other possessions, and now possess this handsome and commodious house. In so far, the material prosperity of the institution continues steady. Nor has its inactivity waved in any respect. Your Committee have been steady at their works, and as in 1852 when we first commenced operations, so in 1883, they have done as much work as you had occasion to undertake. The only thing about which I have to mourn on the present occasion is the loss

of two very valuable members. The first was the foremost—one of the most accomplished members, one of the two or three that we had lately living of our foundation members. We have lost in him a most valuable co-adjutor, who had done good service to the Association for a very long time. I allude to the late Babu Peary Chand Mittra. He and his brother the late Kissory Chand Mittra, were most arduous in every undertaking which came before the Association, and all our early representations, papers, reports and proceedings bear the stamp of their intellectual powers. To me the loss is severe because both these individuals I looked upon as old and intimate personal friends, and many of you, at least some of you, I am sure, who have had the pleasure of walking with Babu Peary Chand Mittra, will bear me out that you cannot have a more hearty good-natured and ardent gentleman who was ever foremost in every good undertaking (Applause). It would be long before we shall be able to replace so valuable a co-adjutor. I am glad to state that a few months ago this Association took the lead in holding a meeting to adopt means to perpetuate the memory of Peary Chand Mittra. A subscription has been opened, and a fair sum has been subscribed, and I hope before long to have the pleasure of seeing the benign countenance of my old friend put in marble in some of our public institutions.

The other individual for whom I have had to mourn was the late Raja Promathanath Roy of Dighapatty. I had the pleasure of rearing him up from his boyhood. He was a ward of mine for upwards of eight years, and I always looked upon him with paternal affection. It was most gratifying to me that upon attaining his manhood he bore out in every detail the anticipations I had formed of his becoming one of the leaders of native society (Applause). His ardent love for the improvement for the amelioration of the condition of the people of this country, and for their intellectual advancement, was unceasing, and he erected a noble monument of his goodness by contributing a lac and a half of rupees to the Rajshahye College. He was for some time

a member of the Bengal Council, and in every movement for the good of the country that we had in Calcutta he was in some way or other associated. In referring to his loss I feel again that I have lost one in whom I had centred a great deal my affection.

To turn now to the work done by your Committee. I shall not take up your time by going through all the details of this report, but there are items which I cannot allow to pass by without remark. The first subject in this report is the jurisdiction Bill—the notorious Ilbert Bill. I call it notorious, because it has since become notorious. It was conceived in the best of spirits, and the stamp of the highest statesmanship was imprinted on the Bill. Nothing can be nobler than the idea which dictated it. The nobleman at the head of the Government tried to do away with race distinctions in matters of law. He was in a manner going to follow in the footsteps of that nobleman, Lord Bentinck, whose memory will live ever fresh in our minds, who when in 1835 first granted the natives civil jurisdiction over Europeans. It was he who inaugurated the measure, and the law was passed shortly after he left the country. That measure was the first "Black Act" as some of our fellow citizens thought proper to stigmatize it. It met with the most violent opposition; but the men at the head of the Government on that occasion were Lord Bentinck, Mr. Macaulay, Sir Charles Trevelyan and others who were true to the real interests of the British Government in this country, and true to Humanity. They passed the law by which the jurisdiction of Native Munsiffs, Sadar Amins, and Principal Sadar Amins was extended to cases connected with Her Majesty's British-born subjects in the country. Since then several attempts were made to advance in that direction by extending the criminal jurisdiction of native officers over British-born subjects. The first attempt was made by the late lamented friend of the country, Mr. Bethune, and it was upon that occasion that my late friend Ramgopal Ghose whose portrait graces the wall before me, was assailed with the most violent and illiberal

vituperation for the action he took in advocating that Bill. He was black-balled from the Agricultural Society for his temerity upon the occasion. The next attempt was made in 1855-56 but it bore no fruit. The next attempt was made in 1860-61 and that law was so framed that it would cover the jurisdiction, but in a very awkward and imperfect manner. The question really came in for discussion in 1872 when the Criminal Procedure Code was revised, and a compromise was come to giving jurisdiction to Muffusil European Officers over British-born subjects, but denying it to Native Officers. It was with a view to remove the last short-coming that the Ilbert Bill was brought forward. It was very cautiously worded as you all know, and it was left entirely to the discretion of the Local Government to extend the powers to such tried officers as it thought proper, and only made it imperative in the case of Judges and Magistrates. You are all familiar with what transpired last year on the subject, nor are you less acquainted with the utter collapse which took place at the beginning of this year when the Bill was passed; and it is with reference to what then transpired that I call the Bill notorious. It has done nothing of what it contemplated to do. The power which was left to the Local Government to invest distinguished native officers with the Criminal Jurisdiction has been done away with. The power which existed for a long time in District Magistrates and Justices of the Peace to try British-born subjects has been taken away—virtually taken away though not nominally. They were able then to try European subjects under the ordinary law, but they cannot do so now. The native officers can only try those who do not take exception to their jurisdiction on the ground of race privilege, the clause of not taking exception has been in full force since 1872 so that nothing has been gained. It was only the other day that I heard of a case at Cuttack in which a European charged with the heinous crime of rape did not care to claim his race privilege and was tried by a native Deputy Magistrate; under section 3 of the new Act, the purport of which perhaps I do not clearly

grasp, the case would have been different. In the case of Sessions Judges you have only obtained one advantage, and that is the Sessions Court Judge, whether European or Native, may try European subjects, but then these cases must always be tried with the aid of a jury. Formerly, European Judges in non-jury districts tried tòo such cases without a jury and so far there has been a deduction on that account and not again. Consequently the Bill has proved an absolute failure giving you nothing except abuse maintained for a whole year. But abuse does not break bones and I do not mind it. I am only sorry that the reopening of the question has been delayed *sine die*. It will be a very strong Government indeed which will be able hereafter to come forward and re-open the case. You must mourn this the more deeply as the Bill has been passed under the administration of a nobleman who has endeared himself with the whole native community, by his liberal sentiments and earnest desire to ameliorate the condition of the people of this country.

The next Bill introduced was the Agricultural Loan Bill. I do not intend to take up much of your time by dwelling on it. The main objection I have to the Bill is that it is of a most arbitrary, unjust and impractical character. It defies every principle of sound political economy. I really do not know that any Government however powerful can regulate the value of money. Money has a law of its own and will override the most powerful Governments. There was a time when a Chinese Emperor, and a more autocratic individual ever lived on the face of the Earth, issued paper bank-notes stamped with a law declaring that whoever objected to receive them as cash must have his head cut off, and many luckless head fell under that law, but for all that the autocrat failed to get his notes into circulation. Another equally powerful Sovereign, one of India, was Ferokshah, and he thought of leather bank-notes. He ordered the issue of these notes, and he failed as ignobly as the autocrat of China. Such being the case is it possible for the liberal law-abiding Government of the country to regulate the loan of

money at fixed interest? It is simply impossible. The Government can only do what an autocrat can do, that is force money for some persons and give it to others. The Government can tax the country at large for the benefit of the agriculturists. The project is that bonds for loans for agricultural purposes from Government and certain selected Banks and private persons shall have the benefit of reduced stamp duty, reduced law charges and low interests. Well all this may be good. But what will be the result of that? The stamp revenue must fail, the registry revenue must fail, other sources of revenue must fail, and the Government will have to tax the people anew to provide for the losses it would sustain by helping the agriculturist. Well, the agriculturist benefits, but is not he as a member of society, as much liable to heavy taxation as any other section of the community? I know for certain, and you know it too, that two Lieutenant-Governors of the most earnest sympathy for the poor of this country, dwelt on the necessity of doing everything possible for the good of the ryot, and how did they end? They consummated their good will for the poor by levying two new taxes on those people. I have no faith in public good resulting from loans to particular sections of the community from the public purse, with special privileges the cost of which must recoil on the public; but I have a lively impression of coming general taxes on that account. In one word the idea is communistic and cannot be carried out in regard to one section of the community without doing general harm. Sympathy for the poor is good enough but why should the poor artizan be taxed for the benefit of the agriculturist?

The next subject is the Excise Amendment Bill. It calls for no remark. It is a measure of a very small character about *khajur ros* and I do not care whether it is taxed or not though I pity the poor men who are deprived of the luxury of having a cooling refreshing drink at a small cost.

The next is the Port Trust Amendment Act. This is one of those laws which people in this country will have to complain of

from time to time under the peculiar constitution of our Government. A solemn pledge was given by Lord Dalhousie that the Strand Bank land would be kept for the health and recreation of the people. Influenced by a powerful corporation our present Government interprets "health and recreation" to mean large three-storied godown blocking up the ventilation of the town. I do not know if there was a shadow of a shade of a sarcastic smile on the corner of mouths of the men who told us it was for the health and the recreation of the people of the town that these houses and godowns have been built.

The Hill Coolie Bill is the next, and I have only these words to say to this subject. It was designed on the principle of holding the people of this country to be children all their lives. No Hill porter was to be allowed to exercise his calling, except with the voucher of a badge from the Magistrate of the district, or what was the samething, the Municipal Commissioners of the District; and if by chance any of you happened to go to Darjeeling, and got out of the train and asked a wayfarer to take your carpet bag in his hand, and that wayfarer happened to be unlicensed, that individual would rue the day by being sent to one of Her Majesty's jail for six months. No man is to be permitted to sell his own labour except with the license of Her Majesty and the price of that labour is to be regulated by the employer of labour and not the labourer. The Bill was modified to some extent, but as far as Darjeeling and Kurseong are concerned it is in full force.

The Mofusil Municipality Bill has not yet I believe received the assent of the Governor-General. (The Secretary, "it has") Oh, it has. Well it is the first outcome in this country or province of the famous Self-Government Minute. I had occasion to read the Bill carefully, and I can tell you that either owing to my advancing age or dull intellectual capacity, I could not perceive tittle of "self" in it, unless it be selfishness on the part of those individuals who will have the working of it. The most annoying part to that Bill was the discussion which took place in the Bengal Council. The proposition was that certain classes of

subjects should pay a tax of 7½per cent a year for Municipal purposes. An Amendment was then brought up saying that rate was very proper when it concerned the huts of poor men, but when it concerned jute mills and manufactories and uncommonly large houses owned by Europeans, it would prove a great hardship ; and the resolution come to is that the richer the man the less he has to pay for Municipal purposes (Applause). It was a painful thing to notice that all the European members of the Legislature voted for this infamous clause of the Municipalities Act.

The next and the only other measure I wish to notice just now is the Tenancy Bill. You know all about its details, and I shall not traverse the well-known ground. I look upon it as another exemplification of what I have been telling you about the eternal infancy of the native population of this country. I do not see that any body has put it in that form, but the main principle whether admitted or not, of that Bill appears to be that 55 out of the 60 million population of the country should be declared unfit to enter into any engagement connected with land I say 55 millions because that is the estimate of the Famine Commission regarding the population connected with land. These 55 millions of men are to be declared incapable of entering into any contracts. No one can enter into any contracts without the Government or whoever represents it, the District Collector or any other official. You are told that enhancement of rent should not exceed 25 or 20 per cent. and so on, but upon what principle our legislators and law-makers think that the relation between produce and rent should not exceed 20 per cent. I cannot understand. There is no argument, nothing to show it, except it is the wish of the Bengal Government. Why was it not said that it should be 10 or even 5 per cent. ? Possibly we ought to be thankful that the Bengal Government has not thought fit to fix the limit at 5 per cent. But the drift of the whole thing is not to fix ratio at 20 per cent. but to put every obstacle in the way of contracts between man and man. No

contract shall be allowed. The land shall be declared the property not of the zemindar to whom Lord Cornwallis gave it, not of those who have owned it for centuries before, but of the squatter who may happen at any moment to construct a wigwam over it. Once a squatter has put up a wigwam, he is the resident ryot, and he is the owner of the soil, and the zemindar and his ancestors, men who have been kings in Bengal a thousand years ago, who happen to hold the land, is only a rent-collector. He is liable to all sorts of pains and penalties and he has no power or right in the land. If Herbert Spencer think that certain rules made in England for compulsory education for the poor are sowing slavery in England, what should be the case when we have at one soop, declared 55 milions incapable of taking care of themselves? Are they or are they not to have liberty to act and judge for themselves, to think for themselves? It may be all very well to talk of free sale, what will be the consequence? The consequence will be as certain as the sun will rise that the land will pass away from these privileged ryots and fall into the hands of money-lenders and capitalists. The Government knows this perfectly well. The framer of the Bill himself declared that in time the ryot will have no legal protection whatever from this Bill. But there is salvation for you as there was balm in Giliad. He said that when that contingency should arrive he may return from England and frame another Bill to help the people out of their difficulties. Are we to rest satisfied with that prospect? Are we to allow such a law to he passed and see the whole country reduced to abject slavery because certain doctrinaires in their allegiance to the Irish Land Act desire to do the same thing in India what has been done in Ireland? It is nothing more than a desire to spend wide in Bengal rank communistic theories. There is no objection in itself pure and simple, but I do object to see any member of the community reduced to a mere infant in the hands of the Government and that being so, is there any reason to suppose that the Government will not hereafter think proper

for a particular purpose, to raise a tax from the poor ryots who reaps the benefit in one way by being relieved from the so-called oppression of the murderous zemindars and placed at the tender mercy of the tax collector? The people say, Government has always said that the Permanent Settlement should be broken through, and that when it is broken through that they will have more liberty and freedom in raising taxes and making, what is called in the jargon of the day, the revenue more "elastic." It is in order to secure the elasticity of the revenue that the Bill has been framed. And though I cannot readily give my assent to such an idea, I do not wish to convey such an insinuation. I feel convinced and am morally certain that it would be rank insult to the noble man at the head of Government to suppose that he could be actuated by such a motive. His motive is unquestionably pure and most benevolent, but I deem it my duty to point out what the impression of the natives is on the subject.

I shall not take up any more time. I think I have said enough to show that your Committee have done their utmost to protect your rights. I shall now retire from the chair on which you did me the honor to place me this time last year. My honorable friend in my left who will succeed me will with the knowledge of business and wordly wisdom, I have no doubt, enable the Association to proceed as satisfactorily hereafter as has been done heretofore.

AMALGAMATION OF THE CALCUTTA AND SUBURBAN MUNICIPALITIES.

A Public Meeting, which was attended by the most influential members of the native community connected with landed and house property in Calcutta, was held at the Town Hall on Saturday the 12th September 1885, at 4 P. M., *for the purpose of considering how the proposed amalgamation of Calcutta with a portion of the Suburbs, under one system of Municipal Government, would affect the rate-payers of the Town, and what steps should be adopted to memorialize Government on the subject.*

Raja (then Rai) Rajendralala Mitra said that he was suffering from a severe sorethroat and he should have felt thankful had the projectors of the meeting saved him the duty of addressing the meeting—a duty which was always welcome and pleasant, but somewhat difficult of satisfactory discharge on the present occasion. He found however, there was no help for it. But before proceeding to the subject before them he must make a few remarks with reference to the observations which had been made by his friend Babu Amarendra Nath Chatterjee. He begged permission to make only a very few remarks, because the Chairman had called the speaker to order, who said that the meeting should be postponed because it was not large enough for the discussion of the subject. Dr. Rajendralala Mitra desired to say that the meeting was a meeting of the rate-payers of Calcutta and it was not to be expected that the whole community of Calcutta should assemble here. The question before them was of a difficult and complicated nature, and required consideration rather in the closet than in the forum, and he could not help thinking that the present assembly was more than large enough for the discussion of the question. Turning to the subject before the meeting he said, he had appealed to them in reference to the difficulty he was laboring under. He had another difficulty

to face; and that was the subject of debate which had brought them there that day. He felt that it was of a misleading character. It was in human nature to wish for advancement, for progress, for amelioration, for enlargement. Man always wished to be bigger, stronger, richer, and more powerful. Every one of the audience, if he was not mistaken, entertained the same idea, and none of them, he was sure, would like to be less than what he was, less than five feet, or so weak as not to be able to lift a chair. This was human nature, and what was true of human nature was equally true of kingdoms and of empires. They all wished to grow larger. One-third of continental Europe, the whole of Northern Asia and a great part of Central Asia did not satisfy the ambition of the White Czar, who was still hankering after and thirsting for more land, and was doing his utmost to get at least a slice of India. And what was true of the White Czar was equally true of many other kingdoms and empires. Such being the case generally, it would at first sight appear anomalous that men were assembled there to protest against a proposition which did not in any way intend to shorten their powers, but to enlarge them, to add miles to the extent of their municipal area, and thousands of population and lakhs of revenue. Under such circumstances why did they object to the proposal of the Government? It wanted to add to their power and their greatness, and not to detract from them. They should rather thank the Government, and not oppose it. But the reply was not far to seek. Every expansion was not healthy; every growth was not conducive to good. A sufferer from hydrocephalus did not think that he was better off than his neighbour with ordinary heads. It was not a question of mere enlargement and expansion, but a question whether such enlargement and expansion was beneficial, and would lead to the health and good government of the city. Taken in this light, he thought they would do well to pause before they accepted the resolution of the Government. That resolution was based on evidence which was anything but satisfactory, and they all felt they would

be taking a leap in the dark to accept the principle of the resolution. To do so would be to plunge head foremost into a river without knowing, the depth of it. He felt entirely with them in this respect. It was in the nature of prudence, of foresight, of good policy, of business-like caution, to see before you leapt. This had not been done, and it was because such a thing had not been done that he thought they were right in meeting together to place their opinion on record, and to pray the Government to give heed to their wishes. The evidence on which the Government resolution was based, was poor and meagre in the extreme, and inasmuch as the Government had taken up nothing more than that, it was necessary at the present moment to enquire how far the evidence was well founded and reliable. The first item noticed in the resolution was, he found, a para in a report of the much abused Calcutta Corporation. In the course of the annual report of that Corporation the Chairman thought fit to compare this city with the great city of the West, Bombay, which had for some time assumed the motto *urbs primus in Indis*, the first city in India. By a process of dialectic disquisition, the Chairman of the Corporation proved that in the natural course of things Calcutta should include the Suburbs, and that after they were included the population, the area and the income of Calcutta would be greater than those of Bombay. This was certainly a good feat in the way of a dialectic disquisition ; but it was no report on which the Government could base its resolution. It did not go far enough or near enough; as to what should be the nature of the enquiry which would justify the amalgamation. This was the first item. The second was of greater importance and more pretentious, and this was a report from the late Vice-Chairman of the Suburban Commissioners. It so happened, as many were aware, that that gentleman's conduct made his position in the Municipality, an untenable one ; the place became too hot for him, and the Government had to find him a situation elsewhere. The first attempt was made in the Municipal Act to provide that he should not be removed. But this

could not be, as it was entirely opposed to the principle of the self-government scheme of Lord Ripon. What was to be done? The Government found him a place elsewhere. [One present objected to these personalities.] I hold the remarks quite legitimate, and to the point at issue. Well, the gentleman left as a parting legacy and a blessing, the report which he held in his hand, and in it he enumerated all the arguments which in his opinion, justified the amalgamation of the Suburbs with Calcutta, nay not only justified but which rendered it absolutely necessary that the amalgamation should take place, and that the Lieutenant-Governor should by one stroke of his pen remove the barrier which kept apart the two. The arguments were very strong and he must confess that they were much stronger than he had yet read in the matter. With the permission of the meeting he would read a few lines, which contained the pith and summing up of the whole of the arguments. They were contained in the Administration Report of the Suburbs for the year 1884, page 56. The Vice-Chairman said : "The same authority that rules the Calcutta Corporation, rules both the Calcutta and Suburban Police," *ergo*, the two should be one : again, "The same fire brigade, under the same authority, is responsible for the protection of the Town and Suburban property," *ergo*, the two should be one, because the same engines put water on fires both in Calcutta and the Suburbs (Laughter). Again, "the same Gas Company lights the streets of the two Municipalities," *ergo*, the same should be united. Again, "The same Tramway organization traverses their thoroughfares and carries their traffic," *ergo*, they must be the same. Again, "The same agency licenses their public conveyances," *ergo*, they are one, and so on. Dare any one question these assertions? These were incontrovertible facts, but the speaker only regretted that the learned gentleman who drew up these arguments and facts had not added a few more of the same nature and effect. It might with equal justice be said that the sun which heated Calcutta likewise heated the Suburbs and that the moon gives the same light

to Calcutta which she gives to the Suburbs. Again he said "the same general postal and telegraph departments provide for the wants of both places." And so he might have added that the same sovereign rules the Town and likewise the Suburbs. This would have made the enumeration complete. The audience were welcome to add as many more of the kind as they liked, but he appealed to them whether they were satisfied that these were arguments which justified amalgamation. Nor was there a tittle of evidence to show that the Calcutta part would benefit. The third item was in the report of the late Sanitary Commission, that grand Commission which was to convert Calcutta into a paradise. But it was at last found that their report was addled in the hatching. The report was a *perfect de rebus omnibus et quibusdam aliis.* There were a great many things and a good deal of margin besides. The Commission were called on to report on a specific point, but it traversed the whole area of knowledge and got into all manner of things, and a disquisition on theories and fancies all jumbled together. The report was a big one, and the evidence taken extensive, but evidently from his sins, committed in a former life, he the speaker had the misfortune to wade through it, and, what was the result? Not a line, not a syllable of evidence was produced to show that it was necessary for the health of Calcutta that the Suburbs should be joined to it. Nevertheless, as these gentlemen wanted to show their learning, they put in as many things as came in their way. But we must take their assertions as *ex cathedra* and nothing more. If a dictum came from the Pontifical chair such of his friends as were Roman Catholics might have bowed to it, but was the meeting prepared to vote for the report? He thought not. They were not to be guided by extra judicial declarations, and were they prepared to submit to any such declaration, in favour of amalgamation? He was sure they were not. The next item, was the report of the Octroi Committee. They knew that these gentlemen were engaged in enquiring whether the Octroi was feasible in Calcutta or not.

They found the greatest difficulty in demarcating the boundaries within which these duties were to be levied so as to prevent smuggling. They were not able to find a perfect line of circumvallation—a wall, a river, or a moat—to keep smugglers out. But they spied a canal at some distance, and said if we had that what an advantage it would be; and so away they went out of their way and recommended that there should be an amalgamation of certain portions of the tract which lay between the town and the canal, without defining what those portions were. He had an opportunity of prying into that report, and it did not disclose the smallest scintilla of any enquiry having been made as to what would be the effect of the amalgamation proposed. In fact if he relied on what he heard from a friend, the whole thing was got up by Mr. Harrison. [Babu Narendranath Sen :—"He insidiously inserted the last paragraph."] He was the drafter of the report and he put in the three lines which recommended the amalgamation; and the good men, his colleagues, caring not a tittle for what was written in those lines, put down their names blindly. They were satisfied that their report recommended no Octroi, and they did not care for amalgamation. There was one more item which was obtained from the Memorial which was got up by Major Wace. How it was got up; who framed it, and the way in which it was got up, he did not know; but when it was brought to him for signature he was told that he should sign it because he would have Calcutta filtered water without paying for it, and the person who took the greatest trouble in obtaining the signatures of shop-keepers of Balliaghattah and other places adjoining to it, was an overseer of the night-soil department who had been dismissed for some shortcomings or other. Lay as much weight as you would like on the memorial, but he hoped he had said enough to show that the first part of the resolution before the meeting was perfectly and literally correct in the assertion that no enquiry has been made of the advantages and disadvantages to Calcutta which would accrue from the proposed amalgamation, and this was all that

was proposed in the first part of the resolution.

The second part of the resolution contained the assertion that the scheme at the present moment was inopportune, because, it interfered with the healthy working of the Calcutta Corporation and the working of the Suburban Corporation. He did not stand there to defend the Calcutta Corporation, his business was not to defend that much-abused body; but this much was certain that the Government had more than once, within a few months, admitted that the Corporation was working satisfactorily, and had done a great deal for the improvement of the town. If this was the case, if the Government which had been the greatest enemy of the Corporation for the last two years, believed that much, that was the time for the Government to come forward and say "I shall knock you on the head, I shall take away your constitution." If so, was it not a correct assertion then that the proposed amalgamation was at present inopportune? As regards the Suburban Municipality, of which he had the honor of being a member for upwards of 16 years, that Municipality had been just invested with new powers and a brand new constitution, and with the local self-government scheme of Lord Ripon, had got the elective system, the members under which were to hold office for three years, and would it not be a gross injustice to them who had been appointed for three years, who had not committed any fault, to be kicked out within six months? Was that an act of justice? Was it proper and becoming in a great Government to pass a legislative measure declaring that these Commissioners elected for three years, should, for no rhyme or reason, be dismissed and swept away. The local self-government scheme and the Municipal Bill were taken into consideration by the highest authorities in the country, and the greatest attention and deliberation were devoted to them by both the Supreme and Local Govenments, and the result, the outcome, of those deliberations was that Municipality. Had it proved such an utter failure within the past six months, that it should be knocked on the head? Was there any thing to show that it had proved a failure? Had the

Government before it any thing to show that it was a failure? It was not his duty to go beyond the four corners of the resolution, nor should he here advert to what could be the motive of the Government in adopting a measure which was not consistent with facts patent to the public. He had every respect for the rectitude of purpose of the Government. He thoroughly believed that Sir Rivers Thompson was incapable of doing any act which was unjust to the community. He had declared from time to time, since the publication of the minute of Lord Ripon, he had been all along in favor of investing the community with larger powers than those they have enjoyed, and it would be an injustice to him to say that he did not conscientiously believe, and believing so, intend that their powers should be extended. But the concluding part of the Resolution distinctly stated "the constitution should be changed." The speaker must confess though it was painful to him to do so, he must do so, in the discharge of a public duty, that it was an unfortunate commentary upon the declarations of the Government. What the belief of the public was they know much better than he did, but the belief was that the great motive for the amalgamation was the Kidderpore Docks. In the report of the same Vice-Chairman, it was distinctly stated that one important reason for the amalgamation was the improvement of the sanitary condition of those Docks. If those Docks proved profitable, the Port Commissioners would enjoy the profits. They were to have the charge of it, and those who expected the benefit should be those who paid their costs. But the people of Calcutta would derive no benefit from them. The belief was among a large body of Calcutta merchants, that it would increase the cost of landing goods so that the increased cost would ultimately fall on the rate-payers, and those who paid good prices for English cloth, would have to pay so many annas more. These were the benefits they would derive from the docks. He also hoped and prayed that the other objections as to their being a large body of stagnant water near Calcutta and of its being hurtful, would not be realised. The report of the Amalgamation

Committee had not yet been published, and they did not know what their recommendations were, and his remarks therefore were confined for the present wholly to general principles, and if he had spoken long, very imperfectly no doubt, still if he had been able to convince them that the Resolution of the Government was hasty, and that it was also inopportune, he was quite sure they would agree with him in supporting the Resolution which he held in his hand. (Loud applause.)

ADULTERATION OF GHEE, ETC.

The following speech was delivered by Raja (then Rai) Rajendralala Mitra, Bahadoor, at a Half-yearly Meeting of the British Indian Association held in the Hall of the Association on Wednesday, the 6th September, 1886.

Gentlemen,—Before I put the resolution to the vote, I think it necessary to explain to you the reason why this report has been delayed. It embraces the period from January to June, and the proper time for the submission of it was July, but it so happened that in July, your house was under repairs, and consequently it was not possible to convene a meeting. The repairs took up the whole of August, and therefore your Committee was compelled to defer the meeting to this day. On that ground, however, your Committee did not feel it desirable to extend this report to the end of August. Usually our reports embrace six months, and consequently this report is just three months after time, and it does not give you any information with regard to what has been done during the last three months. The last three months, however, have not been altogether uneventful, and I shall attempt to give you an outline of what engaged their attention during that period. The first question to which your Com-

mittee directed their attention during the last three months was the exodus of Government from Calcutta. The question was first suggested to us by the Chamber of Commerce, and a meeting of the representatives of the Chamber of Commerce, of the Trades' Association, of this Association, and of the Indian Association, was held in the rooms of the Chamber of Commerce for devising means for a proper representation to Government of the grievances we complain of on account of this exodus. The Chamber of Commerce in this instance evinced the warmest sympathy for the people, and the unity of sentiment which prevailed was highly gratifying in every way. The meeting, convened by the united Committee in the Town Hall, was of a highly satisfactory kind. The unity was perfect, and the effect of the meeting, I have reason to believe, will be good. You have already seen from one of the late telegrams from England, that the Under-Secretary of State has said that there was no intention to transfer the seat of the metropolis from Calcutta to Simla. Upon this telegram, I should not be justified in expressing a definite opinion. It may mean anything or nothing. The subject will, no doubt, be discussed in a quiet way, when everything is ready for discussion. But the telegram shows that the meeting must have had an effect for good. The Government of England are not yet prepared to assert positively and finally what they want to do. The matter will take much time before a decision is finally arrived at. I can easily conceive how strong must be the opposition in official quarters to the giving up of this prolonged nine months' picnic on the hills for the benefit of nobody but the picnicians, at the cost of the public. It is satisfactory to know that the public have done their duty, and have entered their most earnest protest against the conduct of Government in forsaking Calcutta, the metropolis, for their Simla retreat. If you could conceive Lord Salisbury seated in his chalet Cecil and the whole of Downing Street carried with him to the shores of the Mediterranean, and ruling England therefrom, you would have some idea how Government is conducted in this

country ; with this difference, that in regard to England, it would be the Riviera; here you have the crest of the Jakko Hill, leaving the people hundreds of miles away from the ruler. In the case of Bengal, you have the Lieutenant-Governor on the top of Birch Hill at Darjeeling, surrounded by Lepchas and Bhooteas, ruling the whole race of Hindus and Mahomedans 300 miles away from him. You can also imagine in the same way Mr. Grant-Duff in the Neilgheries, or at Ootacamund, and the people of Madras left to take care of themselves. Could any Government in England have dared to insult the community at large by taking their perch on the top of Ben Nevis, and ruling England, Wales and Ireland ? Such a thing would be preposterous ; but that is exactly what is done in this country, and in protesting against what has been done, and which is pretty well becoming an institution, have you done what is the duty of your, as people of the country, feeling strongly the advantage of good government and the disadvantage of bad government.

The next subject which engaged the attention of your Committee, was a domestic one—in reference to the annoyance felt by the people on account of the adulteration of *ghee*, one of the main necessaries of Hindoo dietary. In its simplest form, *ghee* is nothing but butter, and yet there is a difference. In ordinary language, when we talk of butter, we mean something very emollient and agreeable, and we often say one has been buttered when we mean he has been flattered, but it comes to something greasy and obnoxious if we change butter into *ghee*. I am sure if I could butter well, I could win the good graces of a great many ; but I would jeopardise my skin if I tried to ply rancid *ghee* instead. To Indians, *ghee* may be welcome as an article of food, but *ghee* by itself is one thing, and quite another, when a quantity of tallow or some other fat, or some other fatty oil, is put into it, and this is what the tradesmen of Calcutta have been doing for some months, not only to the injury of the health of the people, but also to the injury of the

religious feelings of the community. It is gratifying to me to notice that His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor has taken the subject into his earnest consideration, and has gone so far as to leave his delightful residence at Darjeeling, and come down to Calcutta for the express purpose of passing a law on the subject. I am sure that the whole of the Hindoo community of Calcutta are deeply thankful for this prompt action of the Lieutenant-Governor (hear, hear). Your Association took the matter up with, as usual, very great promptness, and, after deliberation, they submitted a representation to Government praying that as the matter was of great urgency, it should at once be taken notice of and an ordinance issued to put a stop to it. The Government thought a different course desirable. They published a draft of an Act in the local newspapers for any suggestions that might be offered at any time. The objection to the present course of legislation, is that we cannot accept this hasty legislation, and enter, as we have hitherto done, our most emphatic protest against legislation in a hurry. It is usual to take the greatest care to give permanency to the laws of a nation, and every caution against the liability of laws being frequently and readily changed. The form and procedure prescribed for making laws require much deliberation and much time, and they are the best safeguards against hasty legislation, and nothing should be done to undo that. Is it then desirable, is it prudent, that the people at large should set aside all checks and go and ask the Government to pass a law in 24 hours' time for their own benefit? Doubtless they may be benefited in this instance; but they should not forget that if they give up the principle for their own benefit, and accept a principle fraught with mischief, it can be brought into play against them quite as effectually as to their benefit. I am, therefore, strongly opposed to the system of legislation in a hurry. I would have infinitely preferred an ordinance which could have been set aside at any time on objection. The Bill as it is drafted is a very unsatisfactory one (hear hear). In the first place i is limited to

Calcutta only, where people are dissatisfied with larded *ghee*; but are not the people living on the east side and west side of Calcutta equally dissatisfied? And if they are, they should have the same benefit from the law; but as the law stands, they must be content with larded *ghee*. We, the inhabitants of Calcutta, have no special right to get a law to which the others have no claim. The Government should treat the Hindoos and the Mahomedans alike, and give the benefit of the law on the other side of the river as well as on this side. But the Government is not going to do this, and have not told us why. Some say the law is not going to be made general, because it is not convenient to obtain chemical analysis of *ghee* in the mufussil. I should not think this is a valid reason, and therefore strongly advise your Committee to submit a representation to Government that the law may be more general. In one section of the Draft Bill,—I forget which, it is the 3rd or 4th—the wording is very defective. It says "articles unfit for human food." What is unfit? In ordinary parlance that is unfit which is prejudicial to health. A sirloin of beef or a shoulder of mutton is "unfit" when it is too stringy or tough. We don't say it is unfit, because some Hindoos won't touch it. The word simply applies to what is wholesome as opposed to what is unwholesome. We complain of what is prejudicial to our religion. Lard is not prejudicial to health, suet is not prejudicial to health. Doctors, in ninety-nine cases in every hundred, recommend the use of mutton, and seldom denounce it as unfit, but it is prejudicial to religion, and the wording should have been very different. The duty of your Committee is to call the attention of the Government to that clause. It is quite true that a Bill hastily put up and passed will require an amendment in a short time, and our Council is like a tinker's shop where our legal utensils are repaired every month; but that is not what we want. We want abiding laws and matured laws.

The next subject, and that is one on which no action has of late been taken by you, there having been no opportunity for it,

is that of the increase of the income-tax. You have all heard that the prospect is not cheering about the balancing of our income and expenditure in the next Budget. There is sure to be a heavy deficit, and to meet that deficit, the rumour is that the rate of the income-tax is to be considerably increased. Very unwelcome news to you; but you must be prepared to face it, and the sooner you take care to meet this, the better.

For your friends, the zemindars, there is yet another matter. It is said that the Government contemplates taking revenue in gold—to be calculated in gold. What disastrous effects this change will have, my friends, the zemindars, know well. For my part, if such a change is desirable, I hope that Government will likewise make it applicable to the Government securities, reckon the promissory notes in gold, and pay us interest and capital in gold. This has not yet been developed; it is yet in its infancy; but we must be prepared for the contingency. When I will have the opportunity of addressing you again some time in the beginning of next year, I am afraid that I shall have to talk on this subject in greater detail. Before putting the resolution to the vote, I should have said something about the exchange, but the appointment of the Royal Commission for enquiry into the currency, has already had the effect of slightly improving the rate of exchange, I therefore put it off to another occasion. (Loud applause).

THE QUEEN'S JUBILEE.

The following speech was delivered by Raja Rajendralala Mitra, Bahadoor, at the Meeting held in the Town Hall, on Wednesday, the 19th January, 1887, to consider the best means for the best way of commemorating the Fiftieth Anniversary of Her Gracious Majesty's most beneficient reign.

YOUR HONOR AND GENTLEMEN,

I have been asked to say a few words in support of the resolution now before the meeting, and I respond to the call with much pleasure. It is a pleasure to take part in such a demonstration as this. It is a pleasure to see our people earnest and sincere in the cause of loyalty and devotion to our sovereign; and it is a pleasure to know that each in his own sphere is willing and foremost to contribute his mite to so noble a cause (cheers.) The opportunity is a rare one. In the whole course of Indian history, during the last eight hundred years, we have had only one opportunity of the kind, and that was connected with the glorious reign of Akbar. But then there was no Jubilee celebration. During the same period in England, there were three opportunities or about one in eight generations, or well nigh three hundred years. To us, the present opportunity is most welcome, and we hail it with delight. Never was there an opportunity so nobly associated, as the present. Glorious, doubtless was the reign of Akbar, but in the sovereign whose Jubilee we will celebrate in course of the next month, and who will complete her fifty years' reign in June next, we have a nobler and greater being than Akbar of blessed memory (applause.) Her equal no history can show. Owner of an empire far more extensive than that of Rome in her palmiest days, and over which the sun never sets, she is the

mistress of a treasure even greater than her boundless dominions ; it is the heart of her subjects. Her subjects are more numerous, more diversified by origin, caste, color, religion, and more deeply separated by everything which divides race from race ; but they have one thing in common, they are identically one in their devotion to their sovereign. This is a predicate which none can apply to any other sovereign, living or dead. This unique treasure she has acquired, not by the might of her arms, not by phalanxes of invincible veterans, not by the supremacy over the sea, not by awful armaments and villainous gunpowder, but by the purity of her nature, by her generous consideration for the well-being of her teeming millions, by her just, generous and motherly rule. Her sympathy for her people is unbounded. In their joys and their sorrows, she is always with them. In her distant home in the north of Scotland, she takes a delight in visiting the homes of the poor tenants in their huts, and sending them such little comforts as they stand most in need. Are wounded and disabled soldiers brought home from a distance, she is the first to visit them in the hospital. Has a calamity happened anywhere in her dominions, she immediately sends a telegram to express her sympathy and freely subscribes for relief. It was only the other day that a disastrous fire took place in Madras, and one of the first things you noticed in the papers was a sympathetic telegram from the Queen-Empress. For such a sovereign, for such a Queen, for such an Empress your highest loyalty and devotion are justly due, and it is a matter of high satisfaction to me to know that one and all of her subjects are inspired by the fulness of such feelings. I have no hesitation in saying that there is none here present, none in Calcutta, none in all Bengal whose heart does not beat in unison with that of his neighbours in cordial sympathy. For me, sir, and for all of you, I presume, there is even a higher motive for our devotion. It is the purity of her long and glorious life. She is the asylum and home of all goodness and domestic virtues that can

adorn human nature. If she is exemplary as a Queen, she is equally exemplary as the mistress of a family. One phrase of her life, gentlemen, has produced a deep and lasting impression on my mind, it is the ideal of Hindu widowhood that she has realized in her life. For five and twenty years has she in this respect set an example to the world which is entirely unparalleled. To the Hindus, this trait of her character comes deep in their hearts. They pride in extolling this virtue in their own domestic circles, and they cannot but admire to the utmost this noble trait in their sovereign. Her virtues, gentlemen, are manifold, and with the garrulity which is the privilege of my age, I could expatiate on them for hours. I could find it in my heart, gentlemen, to pour all my dullness on your worships. But I feel, I am poaching on other's preserves. I cannot, I fear, say a single word which will now be set before you by those who will follow me, with more vigour, more force, and more eloquence than what I can pretend to. Nor is any effort on my part necessary. The main object of the resolution is that we do celebrate the fiftieth year of Her gracious sovereignty in a manner worthy of the occasion. If there be any truth in what I have already said, this comes home one and all, and needs no recommendation. Is there any one here present who does not feel as warmly, as ardently, as devotedly, on the subject as the warmest of the admirers of Her Gracious Majesty? If so, there is no room for recommendation, no necessity for urging, no occasion for rousing. You all feel most forcibly the propriety of the course proposed, and, without assuming the role of a prophet, I can boldly affirm that when the day comes, India will respond to the call of duty with the utmost enthusiasm, and I wish you God-speed in your noble resolve. The second part of the resolution is a matter of detail, and reads rather poorly along with the first part. I should have liked to see it separated. After a glorious outburst of enthusiasm and devotion, it breaks down with the common place request—pray give us leave for another day. But rightly considered, there is

no inconsistency here, not to celebrate the Jubilee, but to devise ways and means for celebrating it on a future occasion, and in this connection the first question necessarily refers to time, and all we want is that we should have more time than what has been proposed by His Excellency the Viceroy. One day is not enough, and we want two. In the Leveticus, where we have the oldest mention of a Jubilee, the time fixed is one year, during which none should sell or barter, none should sow or reap, none should engage himself in the ordinary affairs of every-day life, but all should be engaged in doing good. But that time won't suit us now. It would bring starvation at the door of many. I have been told that on the occasion of the Jubilee of King George the Third, the period allowed was nine days, but that is too long. In these days of electric telegraphs and railway, we cannot afford to sit rejoicing so long. One day, however, is, as I have just said, not enough. A philosopher may have in a day his full rejoicing at heart on discovering an asteriod, but for ordinary flesh and blood rejoicings mean something actively sensuous. We want music, we want songs, we want theatrical exhibitions and fireworks. In olden days, in Greece and Rome, they required athletic games and gladiatorial fights. We can do, and should do, without the last; but the short space of twenty-four hours affords no time for full enjoyment, and leaves no margin for rest before facing the inevitable black Monday. I have no hesitation in saying, therefore, that the prayer in the resolution is a just and proper one. On the whole the resolution placed before you is worthy of your most cordial support.

THE SECOND NATIONAL CONGRESS.

The following speech was delivered by Raja Rajendralala Mitra, Bahadoor, at the Second National Congress, held in Calcutta in December 1887.

Gentlemen,—The duty I have to perform on the present occasion is to receive the delegates who have come from the various Provinces of the Empire to take part in our deliberations. It is a very agreeable duty, and I most heartily welcome the gentlemen to this assemblage. In the name of my colleagues who have organized this Congress, I express my welcome to them. In the name of the citizens of Calcutta, I beg to tender them our most cordial greetings. I receive them with my extended hands; I offer them the right hand of fellowship for the cordial manner in which they have responded to our invitation. It is not for me on the present occasion to dwell at length upon the subjects which will be brought forward for consideration here. But I can not rest content with the few words I have already said. It has been the dream of my life that the scattered units of my race may some day coalesce and come together ; that instead of living merely as individuals, we may some day so combine as to be able to live as a nation. In this meeting, I behold the commencement of such coalescense. (*Cheers*). I hope the union will not be very distant. It may not be left to me to realize the sight, but it is highly gratifying to me that we are here assembled together, delegates from the North and from the South, from the East and from the West, all anxious to join as members of one nation for the good of our country. Addressing those of my own race, I can tell you that there was a time when our forefathers lived as one single race. Circumstances led to their dispersion, and parochial hedges of various kinds kept them apart. It is therefore not a matter of small rejoicing that we should have surmounted those difficulties and come together. The Aryan blood that

courses in my veins is the same which vivifies you, and as blood is thicker than water, I take the highest delight in being able to welcome my long separated brethern. (*Loud cheers.*) Pardon me, gentlemen, if in the exuberance of my emotion I have forgotten for one moment only the Mahomedan gentlemen who have graced this meeting with their presence. They are as much welcome as the people of my own race. I welcome them with all my heart, and I look upon their presence here to-day as a guarantee of this being truly a National Congress. Without them we might have felt that we were at a marriage party without the bride. Diverse we are in origin, in religion, in language, and in our manners and customs, but we are not the less members of the same nation. (*Cheers.*) We live in the same country, we are subjects of the same Sovereign, and our good and evil depends entirely on the state of the Government and the laws passed in this country. Whatever is beneficial to the Hindus is equally beneficial to the Mahomedans, and whatever is injurious to the Hindus is equally injurious to the followers of Mahomed. Nations are not made of sects but of tribes bound together in one political bond. (*Loud and prolonged cheering.*) We are all bound by the same political bond, and therefore we constitute one nation. I behold in this Congress the dawn of a better and a happier day for India. I look upon it as the quickening of a new life. For long, our fathers lived and we have lived as individuals only, or as families, but henceforward I hope we shall be living as a nation, united one and all to promote our welfare and the welfare of our mother country. (*Cheers*). That is the great object of this Congress, and if you bear that in mind, I am sure there will be no difference of opinion as to the propriety of our receiving each other in brotherly love and trying our best to secure the utmost union possible. It would be absurd to suppose that we can for one moment secure perfect union. We know that Jesus Christ failed to secure perfect union in the body of his disciples, and out of 250 millions of people, you must find that we have many more than one disciple who is opposed to us.

There has been a good deal written lately about the impropriety of this Congress, about the injustice we do to the Government by holding these meetings. (*Here Mr. A. O. Hume entered the Hall amidst loud and deafening applause.*) I shall not stop to refer to the scandalous and absurd charges which have been hurled against us about our being a discontended people, a band of wire-pullers and professional agitators. I would not say one word against those who complain of our being disloyal; for such charges are beneath contempt. But there are others who are more moderate in their tone and in the charges they bring against us and therefore are more injurious in their action. For instance, we have been told that we are trying to force the hand of Government. What is meant by that, I must confess, I do not clearly understand. As an old man, it has been my habit occasionally to cut in for a hand at whist. I know that in this position it is an object with the players to force the hand of their opponents. But are we really forcing the hand of our opponent, the Government? Do we really look upon the Government as an opponent? It is understood in the game that my opponent has some card, some honour, some trumps, which he is not at all disposed to let me know. Has the Government any such thing? Does the Government desire that there should be something kept secret and away from the public, and which we are trying to force the Government to disclose? No. Those who say so libel the Government. It is altogether wrong to suppose that the Government is holding anything away from us; and we cannot try therefore to force the hands of Government, when they contain nothing that would not be given to us freely. Again, we have been told, we must have a policy of confidence in the Government. I would say at once, away with such nonsense. I will never have a policy of confidence. A policy of confidence implies the simulation of a merit which we do not possess; it is the simulation of a feeling which we do not really feel. If we really have confidence in the Government, we need not adopt any policy or semblance of it. We have perfect confidence in the Gov-

ernment, and therefore it is absurd to talk of 'adopting a policy of confidence.' Let those who have no confidence in the Government, but who have their own purposes to serve, say they have 'a policy of confidence.' We shall have none of it. (*Loud cheers.*)

We have again been told that the Government should not be obliged to precipitate their action; that they have already adopted a resolution for enquiry, and that we should not oblige them to come to a conclusion without such enquiry. But are we doing so? Do you for a moment believe that by assembling here to-day and taking into consideration all those subjects which concern us most, we are forestalling the decision of the Government? The Government has itself said that the Public Service Commission is of a judicial character, and that the whole business depends on the evidence produced before it. Who is to produce the evidence for the whole people of the country if the men of light and leading, who are our leaders in every respect, should keep away and be prevented from joining together and deliberating in the manner in which they can put forth the most reliable evidence? We are only preparing the evidence, and not forestalling the action of the Government. If you were to say, as they have said, that we force resolutions instead of allowing time for consideration, the same may be said of those gentlemen of the long robe who take up so much of the time of our Judges in discussing matters before the Judges have made up their minds. There is no pretence whatever to say we have not the utmost confidence in the Judges of the High Court, and the other great Courts of the country. We all have the utmost confidence in the Judges. Still we deem it necessary, for the interest of our cause, that we should employ the gentlemen of the long robe to explain matters to the Judges; we desire that our cases shall be put rightly before them. This is an analogous case, and we want our delegates of mature judgment to consider the evidence and put it in ship-shape, so that it may be laid before the Government with perfect confidence of success, and may

enable the Government to see through our cause much better. (*Cheers.*) If it be true that the Government is superseded, by such action, the same may be said of the Judges, and the consequence would be that if the gentlemen of the long robe insisted on not interfering with the discretion of the Judges during trial, they would very soon find their green bags to be empty. There are some other charges made, but they are all of the same stamp, and I shall not take up your time by dwelling on them, for I must leave ample time to my successor to deliver his inaugural address. I will, however, in this connexion tell you a thing which occurred to me two years ago. As President of the British Indian Association, I took a deep interest in organizing the opposition to the Bengal Tenancy Bill, and I asked a Hindu gentleman,—I am particular to say a Hindu gentleman,—to join the opposition. He said, no, he would not. And why so? 'Because my Collector won't like it.' 'But what do you care about your Collector; your interests are involved?' 'But you require a subscription from me, and if I join you, I shall lose my money and I shall lose the good graces of my Collector. You will not lose your case, because I keep back; if you win, I shall derive the full benefit and I shall retain the friendship of the Collector and my money; if you lose, you lose all, but I shall still have the benefit of the Collector's good graces and my money.' Is there anything like this feeling somewhere which makes people keep away from this conference? It is not for me to attribute motives, but I found that in one case, and it is not out of my way to bring it to the notice of the Congress.

The subjects which you will have to consider are so varied and so diverse in character, and they will be expatiated upon so fully by my friend who will soon occupy this chair, that I shall not take up time by going through them *seriatim*. The most important of them is the reconstitution of the Legislative Councils. I look upon that as the corner-stone of all the topics of political condition. (*Loud cheers.*) Nothing can be done, nothing will be advantageous, as long as our legislatures are in

their present condition. All other things dwindle into very little, when you place beside them this primary consideration, the reconstitution and reformation of the Legislative Councils. Nor is this a matter in which we have for the first time conceived any idea. Time was when our laws were passed *in camera,* in the Council Chamber, with closed doors, and when nobody knew anything of how our laws were fashioned, until they were read, passed, and published in the Gazette. The Government itself felt that that was not a very fair way of doing business. The Government itself wanted co-operation from without, and the first step taken was to appoint a native gentleman of vast experience and illimitable judicial lore to lend his aid to the maturing of Bills. This was, however, a very poor substitute for better representation ; it was a procedure which was felt to be utterly worthless, and in a few years it was set aside. The Councils' Act under which we now live is a great improvement on the past. It has given you several persons in the Council instead of only one adviser, but the evil arose from the several persons who were appointed not being representatives of anybody but themselves (*cheers)* ; they represented no one but their own good interests (*cheers*); they were selected, I will not say how or with what motive, but we know that they were selected so as to produce more ornament than usefulness. (*Cheers*) We have heard with reference to ladies what Mrs. Grundy sometimes calls heaps of millinery, and we had several such ; there were others who acted with perfection as dummies ; others who had taken up the role of *ap ke waste's.* (*Cheers.*) But whether as *ap ke wastes*, as dummies, or as heaps of millinery, they were just the men not wanted. When I say this, I must not forget that there were some who were my personal friends, and better men India did not produce. But they were few. They were not able to cope with the overwhelming dead weight of the official majority that rested upon them, and their usefulness was minimised. If by the action of Government at three different stages you see that it has been felt expedient to alter the cons-

titution of the Councils for the preparation of our laws, there is nothing disloyal or improper if we once more say 'let us take another step forward.' The goal may not be reached for some time, but our grand children might come to it. At present, we want only one step forward: for nomination by the authorities, nomination in any case of an irresponsible character, we want election by those whom the elected are to represent. This is the primary object of our agitation with regard to the Legislative Councils. Let the representativs be elected. (*Cheers.*) Let the system be whatever the Government in its wisdom may think proper, but let the policy be a policy of representation, and let there be a sufficient number of representatives to make the feelings and wants of the people fully heard by the Government. We live not under a National Government, we live under a foreign bureaucracy (*cheers*); our foreign rulers under the peculiar circumstances of the case are foreigners by birth, religion, language, habits—everything that divides humanity into different sections. They cannot possibly dive into our hearts; they cannot ascertain our wants and feelings and aspirations. (*Cheers.*) It is impossible for them to do so. They may try their best, and I have no reason to doubt that many of our Governors have tried hard to ascertain our feelings and our wants; but owing to their peculiar position, they have failed to ascertain them. Therefore, what we want is to have a sufficient number of men to represent the people, each bringing his quota of knowledge of the requirements of a particular section of the community. (*Cheers.*) Perhaps it is not for this Congress to decide the number of such representatives; it would be for the Government to decide. But this much is clear, that in all honesty we do want a much larger number than at present.

There is one point in connection with the Legislative Councils which I must not forget, and that is the right of interpellation. (*Cheers.*) At present, owing to the peculiar circumstances of the Government, there is no interchange of opinion, each party having the right to express its view. We have thus to

make our guesses as to what others think, and many Acts which are most useful in their way, many orders of an administrative kind which are most necessary and judicious, are announced in the pages of the Gazette without a single word of explanation, and the people cannot help doubting the good faith of those who pass them. A single question in the Council Chamber would at once explain the matter; and therefore we think that as a matter of justice it is extremely important that whatever might be the constitution of the Legislative Councils, we should have the right of interpellation. (*Loud cheering.*)

With regard to the other subjects before the Congress there is one only to which I shall refer, and that is the Public Service question. It is not so important, not nearly so vitally important, as the question of the reconstitution of the Councils; it is rather a narrow question and has a bad stamp on its face, an anxiety on our part to get the loaves and fishes; but still it is a very important question; because, without taking into account the money point of view, the nation have a right to demand that they shall have the privilege of serving their own country. (*Cheers.*) This is a right inalienable from the people in all other parts of the world. It has been conceded even by the Czar of Russia, and I hold that the keeping it away from us is a grave injustice. (*Loud Cheers.*) That this deprivation should be done away with is a matter which should occupy your foremost attention. True, it may be said that at present the people can go to England and enter into the Civil Service, but it is such a mockery that the man who tells it is either joking with me or actually insulting me. The question is, that we should send our children, at the age of 16, five thousand miles away for three years together for the purpose of passing an examination of the strictest possible kind. The odds are against them, the prizes are few, and the blanks numerous, and the risks of sojourn by youths without guardians in a large metropolis, teeming with temptation are most serious. As a matter of fact, several Indian youths have returned from England as raving maniacs. Parents

must be foolhardy indeed who, in the face of these facts, will venture to send their children to England at the age of 16. But suppose the age is raised by two years. Would that satisfy all your demand? I say, nay. For the service of one's country, in no part of the world is a person called away from his native land to pass an examination. (*Cheers.*) Canada is under the British Government. But Her Majesty the Queen-Empress does not require that every French subject there shall go to England to pass an examination before being admitted into the Canadian service. Nothing of the kind is required in the Cape Colonies, nor in Australia, nor in Ceylon. And what is true of them is true of any other country which is a foreign dependency. Why should then the case be different in India alone? The rule here is that no man should be allowed to serve the country without running the great risks which await them in England, without having to expatriate himself for three years, and come home to be excluded from caste. This is a great grievance too and it is one regarding which every Hindu and every Mahomedan gentleman has a right to make a strong protest. I do not deny for a moment that there are advantages in going to England, intellectual and moral, of a very high order (*loud cheers*), and I would be the last to put an embargo on any one going to England. But I hold that it should not be made a *sine qua non* for appointment under the Government. It is just as bad as the Czar's mandate which will allow no man to become a high officer unless a Mahomedan Ali Khan changes his name to Alikhanoff. Our Sovereign, Her Gracious Majesty the Empress, would be the last to show that she is in this respect on a par with the Czar of Russia, and I hope therefore that those who will take the subject into consideration will not lose sight of this important point.

I shall say nothing further with regard to the subjects which will come before you, and I shall close by simply urging that whatever you do and say, and whatever policy you mature, bear in mind that of all things moderation is of the utmost importance. (*Cheers.*) Let your speakers speak moderately; let your

schemes be moderate ; and let your resolutions be so framed that *no* Government can have any occasion to complain of want of moderation. That is what I am particularly anxious to ensure, and I hope your Committee and your Congress men will bear this fact prominently in mind.

I shall say nothing more, but repeat our welcome to the gentlemen here assembled and leave the matter to your consideration. (*Prolonged cheering.*)

THE HINDU MARRIAGE CUSTOMS.

An important meeting anent the "Hindu Marriage Customs" took place in the Hall of the late Maharajah Kamal Krishna Bahadur, on Saturday, the 6th August, 1887, at 5 P. M. *Notwithstanding the inclemency of the weather the spacious Hall was crowd ed, and the assembly was intelligent, respectable and representative. The chair was taken by that illustrious scholar, Raja Rajendralala Mitra,* C.I.E., *who, on opening the proceedings of the meeting, said :—*

When I started from home, looking to the state of the weather, I did not expect anything like the audience I have before me. I thought of dozens, I have the pleasure of facing hundreds of the elite of our community—men of light and leading—whose presence and earnestness attest to the importance of the subject intended for discussion this afternoon. The subject has now been discussed for some months in the press ; the Government of Bombay has recorded a grave minute and the Government of India has issued a circular inviting the opinion of local Governments, and the Hindu public feel deeply interested in it. It involves the fundamental conditions of our social bonds as well as of our religion. It concerns the key-stone of

of the arch which supports our social organization; it concerns the home and hearth of every one who professes the Hindu faith. That such a subject should bring you together even in spite of the weather is not remarkable. It is my duty, however, to inform you that this is a sporadic meeting, entirely unconnected with any public or private Association. We meet to hear a lecture, and express our opinion on it, but not to come to any resolution or take any action. Every gentleman here present will form his own opinion and act according to his wish, but as an assembly we shall not commit ourselves to anything but the opinion we express individually. The conveners of the meeting have deemed it necessary to impose this condition to prevent misunderstanding and dissension. The object is to elicit opinion and nothing more. There are enough of Societies, Associations, and other organized bodies in Calcutta to take action, and to them we relegate the duty of doing what is needful. Now I have only to invite the expression of opinion without fear, favour or any reservation. The only condition I have on my part to impose is that the different speakers should condense their speeches as much as possible, avoid repetition and scrupulously avoid irrelevant matter. I know not what time the lecture will take up. I have not read it, nor I have any idea of its extent. I presume it will take up an hour or so. Then there are the names of nine gentlemen on the circular who will have precedence and others will follow, and they are welcome to comment on the lecture and the speeches of the gentlemen named. But I shall deem it my duty to bring the proceedings to a close by 8 o'clock, and the speakers should not take up more than ten minutes each. The subject is one which every speaker can dwell for hours; but we cannot possibly have an all night sitting, as in the House of Commons; I must consult the comfort and convenience of the gentlemen who have done us the favour to attend, and not to force them to forego or forget their dinner hour. I beg of the speakers to bear this condition in mind and to relieve me of the painful necessity of calling their attention every now and then

to the clock. With these remarks, Gentlemen, I shall now introduce the lecturer to you and invite him to deliver his lecture.

(After the Lecturer and other speakers who followed him have finished their addresses, Raja Rajendralala Mitra brought the proceeding to a close, by making the following observations) : —

I have listened with great attention to the many excellent addresses delivered this evening ; but I missed in every one of them what I thought should have come foremost. I mean an expression of opinion regarding the merits of the lecture we have heard. I must supply this omission. The lecture is an able one ; it does honor to the head and heart of the learned gentleman who has done us the favor to deliver it to us. It is thoughtful, judicious, and very considerate—in every way worthy of the character of the lecturer. We may not subscribe to every opinion it contains ; we may differ widely from it in some respects ; but we are bound to accord to it high praise for its general merits. In saying this, I feel certain that I give expression to the opinion of every one here present. With your permission, therefore, I shall, gentlemen, in your name, convey to Mr. Shome the thanks of this meeting for his lecture (repeated cheers).

I have another remark to make about the speeches. They produced in me a sense of intense conservation—an excessive amount of Toryism, unrelieved by any dissent. Every thing we have is good, and nothing should be done to disturb the *status quo*. This concensus of opinion is doubtless gratifying to me as a Hindu ; but it is not in accord with the supreme law of nature. There is nothing in *status quo* in the universe. Change is the order of existence. The moon we behold is a burnt-up sphere ; the earth of to-day is not what it was a thousand years ago ; nor was it a thousand years ago, what it had been ten thousand years before that. The layer above layer which we see on it, each of which took thousands of years to form,

shows that it has changed greatly in course of time, it is still changing, and will go on changing to the end of time. The same changes have taken place in the forms, habits and manners of animal life, and the process of change will continue steadily on and on. Under the circumstances it is hopeless to expect that we shall be able to arrest change, and maintain an absolute *status quo*. The powers of nature are irresistible; they will bring on change, as time flows on, and we must, will we or nil we, yield and accommodate ourselves to our circumstances and surroundings. Our ancestors have done so all along, and we must do likewise.

My friend opposite (Pandit Haraprasad Sastri) has just told you that the Rig Veda mentions the ceremony of Svayamvara, and the inference he draws is that consensual marriages were then in vogue. I always fight shy of that Veda. It is a cornucopia that yields to its admirer whatever he desires, and no one can be sure of a general deduction from any permiss derived from it. I have found in it mention made of a sage or Rishi who married ten damsels all at once. In another place two goods, the Asvins, together took one wife. Thus you have self-choice, polygamy, and polyandry.

The digesters of this Veda, the Sutrakaras, make mention of the Rakshasa form of marriage, in which a brute seizes a damsel by her hair, and drags her away after killing or disabling her guardians and relatives, and while she screams piteously or help. This was probably the most ancient form of marriage. It is well-known that from remote antiquity two forms of selection were current among the two great primitive nations of Central Asia; the Aryans marrying outside their tribe or Gotra, and the Turanians within the pale of their gens. The former method is called exogamy, and the latter endogamy. It may shock your sensibility to be told so, but forcible abduction was the usual form of marriage among your remote ancestors, and old Manu, while denouncing it as bestial, was obliged to admit when he wrote that it was a form of marriage and not rape. The reminiscences of this

marriage still linger among the Aryans in different parts of the earth, in some form or other. You well know that when a marriage party comes to a village, the orthodox welcome they should receive is a shower of brickbats as aggressors, and it has to be obviated by a bribe called *Delabhanga:* you do not actually deliver the shower, but never fail to exact the bribe. Even in Calcutta the bribe is a regular demand paid at every marriage, and never remitted. In some parts of the North-West and in Rajputana, the usual practice is to set up a wicker-work gateway in front of the village. This is called a *toran,* a symbol of a fort, and the bridegroom's party must assail this and knock it down before it is allowed to enter the village. This is a symbolical over-throw of the bride's guardians, and they yield of the girl in theory by *vis major.* Englishmen have done away with all tokens of ancient customs, but, as Aryans, have still a trace of this form of marriage left among them. When a bridegroom takes away his bride, the honor done him is to shy old shoes at him. It is the counterpart of the brickbats of Bengal.

This form of marriage must have ceased in its naked rudeness at an early age; in India, it was replaced by the form most admired by Manu, that of gift, or *Prajapatya,* and it obtains to this day. In it there is no selection, no self-choice, no consent on the part of the bride; she is an article of gift: she is given away, even as a book or a picture, a cow or any other chattel. (Laughter.) You may laugh at my way of putting the case before you; but it is litterally true. Recall to your mind the *mantras* of marriage, and you will at once perceive that the case is one of *Dana,* and nothing more. Even in England, where so much is made of consensual marriage, the theory of gift still prevails: the father or guardian gives away the bride, and if there be no one present to make the gift, the officiating priest enacts the role of the father, and makes the gift. The ceremony of marriage cannot be gone through without this gift. Of course in England it is a mere formality, now, but it

is not the less significant on that account. In India, this gift is identically the same, as is done ; *mutatis mutandis*, in the very words used in giving a child in *dattaka* adoption. In either case there is not the remotest idea of consent on the part of the child given. The boy becomes a son and remains irrevocably so, no matter whether the adopter is blind, or lame, or ugly, or otherwise highly repulsive. No adopted son can on any ground dissolve the adoption. He becomes, by virtue of the religious rite of adoption, of the blood and gens and family of the adopter, and must ever remain so. Even such is the case with the bride. Certain religious rites convert her into the blood, gens and family of her husband, and under Hindu law she must ever remain so. To talk, therefore, of consent is to talk nonsense. The theory of a civil contract is quite different, and stands on a lower plane. It does not enter into consideration when dealing with Hindu law.

It may be said that the Hindu law is bad, and should be rescinded. So say Christian missionaries and others, and from their standpoint they may be right; I do not care now to enquire, if they are. But I cannot permit persons to claim Hinduship who will not abide by the Hindu law. Their Hinduism depends on the laws of the Rishis, and if they decline to abide by those laws they have no *locus standi* within the pale of Hindu Society. I do not wish to control the freedom of choice of any person. Even as I have a right to do what I think proper, so have others. If a person does not like Hinduism let him by all manner of means abjure it, and betake to Christianity, or Muhammadanism, or Brahmoism, or Agnosticism, or whatever else he likes. Let him get up a creed of his own, if no current form of religion will suit him. Rukma Bai does not like to go to her husband because she was not asked to give her consent when the marriage with him took place; but her Hinduism declares that the bond is valid without the consent, and she must abide by her religion and family law. If she declines, she ceases to be a Hindu, and the matter ends. All I insist upon is

that we should not for a moment tolerate the aggressiveness which makes some people denounce Hindu law, and still insist upon being admitted to Hindu Society. This I look upon as outrageous impertinence, and you do well to protest against it. It is nonsense all to talk of the correct interpretatians of our law. Whenever such interpretations have been attempted they have given rise to new sects. The self-appointed interpreters are not the men who have any claim to our confidence, and we simply repudiate them. Of course, in resisting outside force, I say nothing about the natural law about change. That operates slowly, gradually, and I have not the slightest notion of opposing it. Its action may be retarded or quickened by our surroundings—our altered circumstances and requirements—and as intelligent men we should do well to promote it, when it lies in our power to do so; but I have not language strong enough fully to denounce those who will shut the doors of our schools and colleges against those who are married early (tremendous cheers and applause). But I nave already taken up much more time than what I fixed for each speaker, and so I must stop here. ("No," "no," "go on.") Pardon me, gentlemen, my alloted ten minutes have long since passed away, and I cannot. I had intended to dwell on the time of early marriage, widow-marriage and the other topics to which the different speakers have referred; but we have already sat for four hours; it is nine o'clock now; and I would require much more time to do justice to those topics than what I can now spare. I must therefore, now convey the thanks of the meeting to the lecturer, and declare the meeting dissolved.

THE THIRTY-SEVENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE BRITISH INDIAN ASSOCIATION.

The following speech was delivered by Raja Rajendraalala Mitra, Bahadoor, at the Thirty-seventh Annual Meeting of the British Indian Association, held on Wednesday, the 24th April, 1888.

Gentlemen, before I assume the chair which has been so kindly placed at my disposal, I wish to retura to you my most cordial thanks for the honor you have done me. For the third time you have thought my services worthy of recognition, and no man in India can be so insensible as not to feel deeply the honor which has been conferred on me by this important body. But I regret I cannot congratulate you upon your choice. All along defective in some respects or other, I have lately been prostrated by ill-health of more than a year, and you now see me a mere wreck of what I was before. Even my voice is gone, and I cannot address you so naturally and strongly as I have hitherto done. This much, however, I can assure you that I shall try my utmost to serve you to the last day of my life. It may not be much, but that is all I can promise I shall be able to do for you. It is consolatory, however, on my part to think that you will not require my services to any material extent. You have gained that stage of experience when no mentor is wanted; when no supervising guiding hand is required. You have for eight-and-thirty years conducted your business with consummate ability, and you will not now feel the necessity of an active President who will go so far as to lead you in your work. It is I rather that will look upon you for assistant in carrying on your duties and in serving the country. Really I am, I think, nothing better than a figurehead—the figurehead of a ship—which is an ornament merely. I am sorry that in my present condition I cannot even be looked upon as ornamental in your society. Well, I shall try, as I have already said, to do my

best to discharge my duties as well as I can. It is said in that noble, national epic, the Ramayana, that even the great hero of Oudh, Ramchandra, pressed into his service the aid of squirrels who rendered him assistance in bridging the sea to Ceylon. I am content to serve even as the squirrels did. I only hope that such as my service may be, you will accept it for what is intended, not for its worth.

I have already adverted to your being able to conduct your business very effectually. But you have a singular fact before you. The late Viceroy told a different story. The late Viceroy thought that you were mere children ; and that your ambition is that of Phæton which will hurl you to perdition ! It is not for me to criticise the sayings of a great statesman of the standing of Lord Dufferin, but this much I may say that between his professions at a convivial gathering and his actions in the Council Chamber, the diversity was vital. Though he believed you to be mere Phætons who could not be entrusted with any responsibility, in the Council Chamber he thought fit to record a despatch in which he recommended that a number of your countrymen—aye, some of the Phætons—should be elected or appointed to the Councils of the Empire. How he could justify recommending the appointment of these Phætons to the Councils of the Empire, I cannot conceive. You must pardon me if I feel disposed to think that, the only way he could account for the differences existing between the two opinions, was that the one was an after-dinner speech, made at a convivial gathering, which should never have been interpreted too seriously ; while the other written within the four walls of the Council Chamber, was a correct expression of Lord Dufferin's views. You are all aware that his successor fully sympathises with you, and proposes to grant you the most important concessions of electing members to the Council. Whether he will do so during his tenure of office or not I cannot say ; but certain it is he will give you the other blessing of interpellation in the Council Chamber, and that of itself would be a great gain. Anyhow this much is

certain that the opportunity of interpellation you have been seeking for the past thirty-seven years, has now come near at hand.

It was in the year 1853 that the first petition you prepared for the House of Commons had for its first section the defects of our Legislative Councils here. Most of you are no doubt aware that in those days legislation was carried on with closed doors by the Executive Council, and no reporters were allowed admittance. Your petition was so far successful in 1853 that in 1856 you had a law passed which authorised the Government to appoint others than the members of the Services as members of Council, and the doors of the Legislative Council were thrown open so far as to admit reporters.

From closed doors to an open chamber was a great gain ; not that more was not wanted, but the first instalment was very good. In 1859-60 you again addressed the House of Commons about a revision in your Council, and in 1861 you went up again complaining of the Council and suggesting with great truth that certain members of the Council should be elected by the people—not by the people—but by certain representative Societies and A ssociations of the people. In 1868 you had another petition. In that you broached the creation of a consultative Council Chamber,—that all projects of law should be initiated by that lower chamber, of which the members would be some of the people of this country, elected by the people, and that the upper chamber should be the revising regulator which could either adopt or reject the recommendations of the consultative chamber, and that the Council of the Governor-General should do nothing without first consulting the consultative council. Other petitions then followed. All through 1872 to 1880 and latterly, your representatives have been foremost in mooting the subject of reform in the legislatures in the several National Congresses. It is therefore not the National Congress that broached the subject, but it was the British Indian Association, thirty-seven years ago, which first brought up it, and full credit should

be given to that Association for this. Of course, you are not in a position now to say what lies in the womb of the future, but this much is certain that your representations have given such weight to the National Congresses that they have succeeded in securing the co-operation of a large number of men in India and Europe in their favour. You will not, therefore, be disheartened by what has transpired at the St. Andrews' dinner. I should like to urge that you should redouble your exertions now that the day of success is within a measurable distance. It will depend entirely upon you whether you will succeed or not in your further moves towards a reformed legislative council. Mind you, I who have a very few days before me to live, warn you that to be disheartened is to give up the campaign, and to give up the campaign would be a proof that you do not deserve to succeed. Fight; to the last of your resources fight, and when I use the word I mean fight constitutionally, loyally and faithfully with the single object of improving the Empire of Her benign Majesty the Queen under whom we live, and that is the only way by which you can secure success. Bear in mind another thing and that is to be prudent and cautious. Never use any thing in your arguments or methods which may be construed into disloyalty, or opposition to the interests of the Government. The interests of Government as a Government are entirely for your benefit. The interests of certain individuals in that Government who delight in finding fault with you may be quite a different matter, but that is a dangerous subject to touch upon, and I shall say nothing about it.

The next subject to which I shall draw your attention and to which you have all along devoted attention, is the Civil Service. In your petition of 1853 to which I have referred, the constitution of the Civil Service was prominently noted, and notwithstanding all the improvements which have been made in it they have proved inadequate, and it will be for you to exert your utmost to secure something worthy of your efforts. As at present advised I do not think the report of the Public Service Commis-

sion affords at all a satisfactory solution of the problem you have before you. But I am afraid I am tiring you. What with my whining and broken voice and my whisperings I do not think I shall be justified in taking up more of your time, but I hope and trust that you will not in a moment forget the great, the important, the paramount subject of a reform in our Legislatures. That is at the base of all improvements in this country. Without it nothing can be done that will be worth anything ; and I trust that you and your successors will never play, never slumber, never lose a moment in exerting yourselves for your good. I return you once again my thanks for the honor you have done me. (*Loud applause.*)

ISOLATION OF LEPERS.

The following speech was delivered by Raja Rajendralala Mitra, Bahadoor, at the 30th Annual Meeting of the British Indian Association, held on Wednesday, the 30th April, 1890.

Gentlemen,—When this time last year you did me the honour of electing me your Chairman, I never expected to survive the year. Rather, it was my conviction that I would not have the privilege and pleasure of uniting with you and presiding at the closing meeting of my term. Providence has, it is true, spared me to come here to-day ; but I have come here only to confess that as your President I have been a failure. You had scarcely done me the honour of assigning your chief office to me when my health completely broke down, and for nearly the whole of the year your business—which should have been directed by me—has had to go on under the fostering care of the Hon'ble Raja Durga Churn Law. But, gentlemen, although I must own that I have failed to do that for which I was appointed, I am

happy to be able to assure you that your business has not suffered, rather it has been performed for me in a more efficient manner than I could have done it. My friend Raja Durga Churn Law has not let the grass grow under him. The report in your hands shows how varied and onerous have been the duties which he has performed for you, and how ably he has directed them. His energy, his aptitude for business, his ability, and his influence have enabled him to work for you far more effectually than I could have done, and your grateful thanks are due to him. For myself I gladly avail myself of this opportunity of publicly expressing my deep obligations to him. As moneyed men it will be interesting for you to know that he has been able to reduce your expenses and to show you a clear saving of Rs. 2,000, which has been duly invested. Without meaning any offence I may say that saving funds is not extraordinary work for Raja Durga Churn Law, but we are not the less thankful for it. True, the amount saved was not large, but as a saving it should be gratefully accepted. The amount would have been larger but for the losses occasioned by the dishonesty of subordinates. Suffering as I am from the effects of long illness, it is indeed a painful task for me to address you, and besides, the weakness and other conditions of my voice must jar upon your sensitive nerves. But I cannot sit down without referring to one or two of the matters treated off in the report. I shall be as brief as I can, and I must ask your indulgence if I am not quite audible. Your representations to the Government regarding the regulations of the Postal Money-Order System, in so far as they affected small money-orders for payment of rent, were wisely conceived, and as they had for their object the relief of much discomfort felt by the poor ryots, whose cause you champion I am glad to say most of them were accepted by the Government. Our main proposals were that the coupon and acknowledgment should provide for entry of the name of the recorded tenant, as well as of the remitter ; that the annual rent of the holding should be inserted where a ryot held more than one holding, and that Ban-

kar and Falkar engagements should be separately specified. We further suggested that the name of the "mahal" should be put in instead of the name of the "village" only, and that the particulars about the year for any *kist* of which a remittance was made, as well as the grand total, should be entered in words as well as in figures to prevent foul practice. We further suggested that there should be a postal rule to the effect that a searching or inspection fee of four annas, paid by the landholder of a village or his agent, should enable him to examine the acknowledgments deposited in the Post Office for payments made in a village office in one year. All these suggestions have been accepted by Government and the poor ryot has thereby been much benefited. We have fought their battle, not our own, and we have earned their gratitude.

The next subject upon which I would say a few words is the Wards Bill, which recalls olden days, when I could forcibly express views which were begotten of experience. An attempt was made by Government to deprive the community, by a side-wind, of control over minor estates which were legally under their management, and to place every minor estate under the Court of Wards. Our Committee at once took the matter up, and urged that no *de facto* guardian should be compelled to place himself under the control and supervision of the court, except in those cases in which the guardian voluntarily applied for it. A person who became the guardian of a minor, and who was appointed a guardian by a Will or other instrument, was ordinarily the best person who could be appointed to the office, although the considerations which governed the selection or appointment might not be appreciated by the outside public. The courts which exercised similar jurisdiction as the Court of Chancery could give relief on mere application of a relative or friend of the minor in case of misconduct and gross neglect of the guardian, while the immunity which a guardian whose title had been declared by a court enjoyed as regards acts done by him, with the permission of the court, was a sufficient inducement for a *de facto*

guardian to place himself under the control of the Court, whenever necessary. Our Committee stated that section 20 of the Bill should be omitted, if the minor be a member of an undivided family. The effect of the proposed provision would be to invest the court with the power of bringing under its control all properties held by joint Hindoo families. It would open a door for vexatious and harassing applications against the *de facto* guardian by his enemies. It was doubtful whether any restrictions could be imposed upon a guardian appointed by the court which would not unduly interfere with the powers of the managing member of the family, and whether the costs of such separate management would not ultimately prove detrimental to the interests of the minor himself. The Committee observed that they had submitted their views on 1st July 1886 on the general provisions of the Bill, and they were glad to find that several of their suggestions had been embodied in the amended Bill. Our further suggestions were accepted by the Viceregal Council and were embodied in the Bill. The only other matter upon which I shall try and address you is one in which I take much interest. I refer to the proposals of Government for the isolation of lepers. I have carefully studied the subject of leprosy for very many years now, and I boldly assert, and dare to challenge contradiction, when I say that leprosy is not infectious like small-pox or other diseases I could name. I admit it is a loathsome disease—a very loathsome disease—but I tell you that it is not by any means infectious. Had it been so, Calcutta would to-day have had a leper population which could be counted by thousands. You know or have heard how assiduously Indian wives serve husbands afflicted by this awful disease, each supplying the place of a servant to a leper, instead of one for every forty lepers, as Captain Haye's letter shows us. They wash them and tend on them, and though some have done this for years and years, no signs of leprosy have appeared on the patient dutiful wives. Why then should lepers who have the means to provide themselves with

care and medical treatment at home be compelled to find shelter in a leper's asylum? As soon as the Government Bill for the isolation of lepers was introduced our Committee pointed out that the Bill was based on the assumption that the health of the community was affected by lepers being allowed to mix freely in society, and that legal powers were, therefore, needed to enforce their isolation. No reports or other papers were circulated to prove that such isolation was urgently or at all required. The Committee of the British Indian Association were not aware that the disease in question was at all so intensely infectious as to render such isolation necessary. It should first be ascertained whether the disease was really infectious, or communicable by mere touch with a sound body. The bulk of the medical profession was opposed to the idea of its being contagious. The Committee obtained a Report from the Secretary of the District Charitable Society, who has charge of the Leper Asylum, and they found that none of the 40 officers and attendants who were employed for the last fifteen years in the Asylum and had constant association with the patients, were affected by the disease. The fact is that the idea of its infectiousness were greatly spread about by the unfortunate death of Father Damien who caught the disease somehow and died. This circumstance was noticed by Royalty, and that gave an adventitious interest to the subject. Under such circumstances, it would be highly injudicious to make any provision which would be based on the assumption that the disease was contagious. It would lead to a great injustice if men were deprived of their personal liberty and civil rights on an assumption which at present was not at all established. Reports might not be wanting to show that mere contact had led to the spread of the disease, but such reports were vague, there being nothing positive to show that in such cases there had not been some unconscious inoculation. And such being the case, a careful consideration of these factors was necessary before a correct conclusion could be arrived at. Although the Committee were very unwilling to enter into a dis-

cussion of professional questions, they had still ventured to show that no legislation should be attempted on the basis of partially adopted theories, and they held that personal liberty and civil rights were sacred things, and should never be meddled with through mere fear of the theory of some persons only. These might be hereafter proved to be false, and the Committee would not advise Government to take any action which would deprive any section of the community of their personal liberty and means of earning their livelihood. It was very true that lepers were poor miserable wretches, who would be better cared for in a hospital or a retreat, or an asylum ; but the effect of such isolation upon them could not compensate for the mental depression which would result from a life-long imprisonment. The Committee, therefore, ventured to protest against all compulsory segregation of lepers. They had no objection to segregating the pauper vagrants and persons volunteering to be placed under restriction, as these men were very poor and quite unfit to earn their livelihood, and most of them had no houses or relations to go to. It is really offensive to see leprous vagrants crowding the streets of a town, but that could be easily checked under the municipal law. As for volunteers, none would be willing to come to public hospitals, who had prospects of any private support, and no legal provision was needed for those who were willing to do so. The Bill is still before the Select Committee of the Viceregal Council, and we are not yet aware how far our suggestions have been acted upon. The first business before you to-day is to receive the annual report, and in reference to that the letter which has been read to you suggests that the draft report should be circulated beforehand amongst the members. But that has not been our practice, nor is it, as I understand, the practice of any other Society except Trading and Financial Associations and the like. The report is carefully considered by the Committee appointed by yourselves and composed of 40 members and you will not get any one else to give greater or more careful consideration to it than they have given.

I think therefore the suggestion is not at all an inviting one. There is another subject to which I must refer before I sit down. The letter which has been read before you to-day also contained a suggestion, that we should do away with the rule fixing the time of payment. But can you for a moment believe that that will facilitate our business? Is it not the experience of most of you here that some of our members, though very loyal, are still in arrears; and they do not pay, notwithstanding the rule. If therefore with a law they do not pay, without a law they will never pay—(Laughter and applause)—and the abolition of that law will mean that the business of this Association will have to be conducted by means of the subscriptions of other men; and it will be unjust to those members who do pay and by whose subscriptions the work is carried on to permit those who do not pay to enjoy all the rights and privileges of members. With these remarks, gentlemen, I lay the report before you.

APPENDIX.

Report of the Entrance Examination Committee.

DISSENT.

I dissent from paragraph 5, which recommends Chemistry as a substitute for Physical Geography, and insists upon its teaching with experiments.

I object to the recommendation :—

First.—Because it is open to the same objections which have led to the rejection of Physical Geography.

Secondly.—Because it betrays a want of adequate conception of the sequences of science.

Thirdly.—Because Chemistry forms no necessary part of a universal training for Entrance students.

Fourthly.—Because the recommendation will involve a loss of opportunity which should be properly utilised.

Fifthly.—Because Chemistry cannot be satisfactorily taught in the generality of Indian schools.

2. When the teaching of Physical Geography was proposed by Sir George Campbell, about 16 years ago, I was the first to oppose the project. I held that Physical Geography was not an elementary science, but the application of most of the elementary sciences to the elucidation of certain physical phenomena, and no one who was not well grounded in those sciences could at all satisfactorily follow lessons on that subject. The proposition, described, was one of about the same value as that of placing the cart before the horse, and totally unsuited for this country, where our boys did not, at home or in the lower forms of the schools, acquire any knowledge of even the most fundamental facts regarding matter and motion. My opposition, however, proved vain, and the proposition was adopted. Since then I have never missed an opportunity of urging my objections, and it is a source of satisfaction to me to observe that a majo-

rity of my colleagues have now resolved upon doing away with the anomaly. The substitute proposed, however, is open to the same objections which have led to the rejection of Physical Geography. Chemistry presupposes a knowledge of the first principles of matter and motion. Without that knowledge, not even the simplest operation of Chemistry can be intelligenty grasped ; and as there is no provision made in our schools to teach those principles, nor any arrangement at the homes of the students to acquire them privately, I hold the proposal to be a faulty one.

3. The second objection is a sequel to the first. It is unquestionable that the rudimentary principles of matter and motion form the groundwork of the whole circle of the Physical Sciences, and in every systematic course of teaching, they should be taught first and foremost. It would be a waste of labour to attempt to impress this fact on the minds of intelligent people. It is, I believe, self-manifest. In England little boys are made familiar with several universal principles of Physics by other methods than school-teaching, but even there Chemistry before rudimentary principles is held to be unsuitable. No less a personage than Professor Balfour Stewart, writing for the School Board of London, lays down, in the Preface to his 'Experimenal Physics,' that 'the study of the Introductory Primer will, in most cases, naturally precede that of either of the above-named subjects (Experimental Physics and Chemistry) ; and then it will probably be found best to take Chemistry as the second and Physics as the third stage.' It is, I believe, universally admitted that, age for age, Indian youths are less fitted by domestic training for the study of Chemistry than English youths, and the recommendation is that we should force the former to take up a book which would be difficult to the latter, and which was prepared expressly with the object of being preceded by another. There is nothing in the condition of Bengali youths which justifies this departure.

4. My third objection is that Chemistry forms no absolutely necessary part of a universal training for boys who prepare to enter a college. It is the furthest from my wish in any way to decry the importance of Chemistry. I hold it in high estimation, and urge that all who can afford to learn it should by all means do so ; but I demur to the theory that a boy is not qualified to enter a college who has not imbibed a cursory knowledge of the non-metals, as given in Mr. Roscoe's little primer. Such knowledge cannot be of the smallest use in many departments of learning. My colleagues themselves are of this opinion, for they recommend that the subject should be optional with those schools which can provide for its teaching. Had they thought that a knowledge of Roscoe's

Primer was *absolutely* necessary for one and all, they would not have made such a recommendation. No plea of difficulty should justify the abandonment of that which is peremptorily and absolutely necessary.

5. It has been said that "Chemistry was the legitimate introduction to the F. A. science course, as at present constituted." This is not correct. The text book in the F. A. course now is Ganot's 'Natural Philosophy,' and there is nothing in those chapters of it which are read in the colleges which require a previous knowledge of Roscoe's Introductory Primer. As a popular treatise, it is to a great extent self-contained, and needs very little from the outside. The only part of it which bears directly on Chemistry is the chapter on gases, and that contains everything that one can learn on that subject in Roscoe's book.

6. The difficulties which I advert to above are serious. It would be a trite axiom to say that Chemistry cannot be properly taught without experiments. It would be infinitely better not to teach it at all than to teach it simply by rote like the mantras of the snake-charmers. The only question at issue therefore is, how far can we have teaching with experiments without injury to the advancement of general education ? For experiments we require competent teachers and suitable apparatus ; and we have neither. Even B. A. candidates in the B. course in the Presidency College are not afforded the means for making experiments with their own hands in the College laboratory,—the privilege, if I am not misinformed, being limited to the Honour and M. A. candidates. In other colleges where laboratories exist the same system obtains ; but most of the colleges have no provision whatever for experimental teaching of Chemistry. Under the circumstances, it is hopeless to expect that a sufficient number of competent teachers can be obtained for our Entrance schools. The total number of teachers required will be about four hundred and fifty. The Calcutta Science Association teaches science practically ; but, to judge from the weekly advertisements issued by it in the *Hindoo Patriot* newspaper, the practical class is limited to Chemistry, and the number of pupils there is exceedingly limited—about a dozen weekly. It would be vain to calculate upon a large supply of teachers from that source. Were the case otherwise, and a supply of teachers could be had, their pay would be an insurmountable bar to their being largely utilised. The cost of the instruments, all to be imported from Europe, would likwise be a serious difficulty in the way of the poorer schools. The cost is estimated at about rupees three hundred, besides a standing monthly charge for chemicals. Many of the schools cannot afford to obtain even wall maps for the teaching of general geography, and to them the idea of monthly supplies of

chemicals would be absurd.

7. When this phase of the subject was discussed in committee with reference to Experimental Physics, Sir Alfred Croft admitted that about ten per cent. of the weaker schools might be unable to provide the necessary apparatus As chemical instruments and apparatus, though less costly at the first start, are liable to more frequent breakage, and the cost of chemicals is heavy, the percentage must be higher. From my own inquiries I am satisfied that about twenty per cent. of the poorer Entrance schools would be forced to give up the idea of teaching upto the Entrance standard. If so, we have to decide whether it would better for the Indian community at large that some few boys should learn to handle retorts and crucibles, at the sacrifice of twenty per cent. of our Entrance schools, or these should remain and the country should wait till a future day for the teaching of experimental Chemistry. Up to this time education has advanced very widely without the use of philosophical toys, and I am firmly convinced that we would do well to follow the course which has proved so successful, and defer the experimental teaching to a fitting opportunity hereafter.

8. These objections will doubtless be confronted by the remark that the difficulties I advert to have been fully taken into consideration by my colleagues, and it is to meet them that they have proposed the Chemistry course to be optional with such schools as can afford it. Of course there can be no objection to an optional subject, and if boys chose to qualify themselves in so useful a science as Chemistry, the University would do well to take note of it. I would go further and readily agree to its holding examinations in other elementary sciences, not even excepting Music. The question, however, has to be looked at from a different standpoint. One general subject (Physical Geography) having been abandoned, the question arises whether we should recommend another in its place, compulsory on all candidates, or let of those schools which plead poverty, and require those which urge no such plea to teach something extra. I dislike the second branch of the alternative. Had the option been given to the boys it would have been something ; but to schools it is absurd. It is observable that the profession which a boy is in after life to follow is not determined until after the Entrance examinination, and to force before that time all the boys of a particular school to learn a subject for which some of them may have no occasion afterwards, or for which they have no natural aptitude, is a hardship. It involves a great waste of time and labour. I would insist upon a general course for one and all, and leave those who are able to learn more than what we insist upon, to learn what they like, in addition to the fixed course. Now, the omission of

Physical Geography as a general subject gives us a legitimate opportunity to introduce in its place something of universal interest, and which everyone should know, whatever may be his future course of life or study. Such a subject presents itself to us in the form of a primer on matter and motion. It is almost as essential a basis of learning as Grammar or Geography. No man should do without it, and it is sure to prove useful in every branch of learning. It is impossible that there should be any difference of opinion as to its value and importance. Some have objected to it on the ground of the difficulty in providing instruments for its proper teaching; but I look upon the objection as frivolous. Experimental teaching is not needed for the purpose. Broad general facts have, in the first instance, to be taught categorically. For all practical purposes, I think the Introductory Primer by Professor Huxley will be quite enough for our purposes, at least to begin with. It should be taught in the same way in which we teach beginners the rules of Grammar, or the axioms of Mathematics, or the principles of Physical Geography, *i. e.*, mainly by rote. I name the text, partly because it conveys a clear idea of what I want to be taught, and partly because it is the leading text-book in all the Board schools in England; but I would not object to any other book of the same character and extent. I would make it compulsory on all Entrance candidates, and leave them after that to learn as much Chemistry, or Botany, or Drawing or Music, or whatever else they choose, provided they do not, as regards marks, in any way handicap those boys who do not take up any extra subject. I hold that such a text-book would be a far better introduction to Ganot's 'Natural Philosophy' in the F. A. course than Roscoe's Primer can possible be.

9. The next recommendation I object to is the scheme of marking laid down in paragraph 11. The Committee was appointed 'to *enquire into and report* on the system under which candidates for the Entrance examination are admitted into the University.' Its primary duty was therefore, 'to enquire into' and to point out the defects of the present system, and then to suggest reforms, if it thought proper, though the resolution of the Senate is silent on the subject. The necessity for the inquiry was felt on account of the unprecedented failures. This they have not done. They do not ascertain the nature of the disease, but haphazard suggest remedies, the value of which cannot be rightly judged without reference to the past history of the Entrance examination. It may be all very good to suggest improvements, but our primary duty is to ascertain existing evils, and to point out how to remove them.

10. To confine my attention to the failures, I find that the average

number of failures from 1876 to 1883-84 ranged from 45 to 52 per cent. During the last three years of the period the ratios were :—

Session.	Total of Candidates	Total of failures.	Ratio of failures.
1881-82	2,937	1,493	50 per cent.
1882-83	3,111	1,602	51 „
1883-84	3,591	1,752	48 „
Average	3,213	1,615	50 „

During the whole of this period an equal number of marks (100) was apportioned to each subject. In 1883, a scheme was adopted which allotted varying numbers of marks to different subjects, thus :—

English	200
Mathematics	160
Second Language	120
History and Geography	120

This scheme came into operation at the examination of 1885-86, and the number of failures at once rose, in round numbers, to 67 per cent. In the following year, it rose to 70 per cent. In order to ascertain which of the subjects caused the greatest number of failures, I have prepared the following tables :—

	1881-82.		1882-83.		1883-84.		1884-85.		1885-86.	
	Number of failures.	Ratio.	Number of failures.	Ratio.	Number of failures.	Ratio.	Number of failures.	Ratio.	Number of failures.	Ratio.
English	1,124	75	1,012	63	1,113	63	1,715	62	2,385	79
Mathematics ...	870	58	1,057	65	980	55	1,996	72	1,941	65
Second Language ...	672	45	914	57	848	58	1,128	40	1,486	49
History and Geography	604	40	591	36	508	28	1,844	66	868	29

Failures in one subject only.

	1881-82.		1882-83.		1883-84.		1884-85.		1885-86.	
	Number of failures.	Ratio.	Number of failures.	Ratio.	Number of failures.	Ratio.	Number of failures.	Ratio.	Number of failures.	Ratio.
English	205	13	112	6	240	13	166	6	501	16
Mathematics ...	106	7	183	11	224	12	301	10	313	10
Second Language ...	56	3	149	9	199	11	99	3	96	3
History and Geography	25	1	22	1	29	1	100	3	9	3

These tables show most clearly that English and Mathematics proved the most disastrous. Those subjects have always been the most difficult. A former Director of Public Instruction described them as the 'most fatal subjects,' and another called them 'the most lethal,' and assigning them a larger number of marks than before, brought on the evil of which the public so bitterly complain. The Principal of the Sanskrit College, Calcutta, called the attention of the Committee to this subject; but my colleagues, have not taken it into their mature consideration, or assigned it that weight which its importance demanded. The rise from 100 to 200 and from 100 to 160 was an enormous leap, and my colleagues have failed to afford the relief that is needed. Both the present and the proposed numbers are much higher than what is required for the higher examination of First Arts, which is 150, and at that examination English of a higher standard is required than at the Entrance.

11. I do not at all advocate any lowering of the standard in English; but I object to the raising of it in 1883, and the maintaining of the higher marks in the present report. I am deeply sensible of the value of English as an element of education under the present circumstances of the country. It was on that account that I objected to the scheme of Mr. Tawney, which, I thought, unduly lowered the value of the English language and literature in his alternative Entrance curriculum. But I cannot forget that the Government of India has denounced our present standard of English for the Entrance as too high for domiciled European and Eurasian youths, and devised a lower standard for them, which it requires should be reckoned as equal to the University Entrance standard,

which is mainly intended for Indians. If then the University standard is too high for European and Eurasian youths, whose mother tongue is English, it must *ipso facto* be excessively so to Indian boys, whose vernacular is totally and radically different. This is not fair ; it is positively unjust ; it should not be so. Were the standard fixed for the European and Eurasian boys made applicable to Indian youths, it would handicap them heavily, but I would not object to it. The political condition of this country renders it necessary that Indian boys should run on even terms with the foreign competitors ; but I cannot but resent a penal addition of weight against them.

12. It might be said that excess of knowledge is *ipso facto* advantageous and not injurious, and therefore our higher standard need not be objected to. This, however, is a fallacious, delusive argument ; it does not meet the real question at issue. We are not concerned in this connexion to discuss the substantive value of knowledge in any two given cases, but to enquire what is the amount of preliminary training *absolutely* necessary to qualify our youths to benefit by collegiate education. What this absolutely necessary quantity should be is indicated in the University records by the words "English in its simpler forms." This definition, though somewhat vague, is, I think, sufficient for a general rule, and I desire not to disturb it. My colleagues explain this definition by saying (Resolution (2) of February 5) : 'English Grammar and composition should be studied by Entrance student more with a view *to be able to write plain English correctly*, than with a view to learn the philosophy of the English tongue.' They add : 'and as great doubt and uncertainty prevails as to the scope and extent of this branch of the subject, a suitable text-book or text-books should be fixed or recommended for study.' Their scheme, however, is not consistent with their profession. They admit (paragraph 8) that their proposal 'imposes in one sense a higher standard than that which now prevails,' and they justify it by saying 'the number of students who just pass in this way, in the minimum of all subjects, must be very small indeed. These are not students whom the Committee desire to encourage.' I cannot concur in this opinion. I ask no favour or encouragement. All I insist upon is that which is just and fair, and the plan proposed is not so. I hold that to insist upon a higher qualification at the Entrance is to make the path of knowledge more thorny than what it need be. It involves the necessity of plucking much more extensively than what is required in the interest of popular education. The plucking of three thousand candidates annually and passing some fourteen hundred out of a total number of four thousand four hundred is a

positive scandal. Admitting that the less thoroughly trained would not make the brightest pupils in a college, I hold that they would still learn a great deal in a college and become better fitted to make worthy members of society by reading in a college than what they can be by being cast adrift at the Entrance with all chance of further study closed to them. The candidate plucked at the Entrance is literally lost to the community; but those who are plucked at the B. A. are nearly, if not quite, as good as a third-grade B. A. Indeed, the plan appears, though of course really not so intended, to serve as a check to a wide diffusion of useful knowledge.

13. I do not at all wish to hamper our professors by placing under them untrained youths. All I urge is that any boy who is able to follow the lessons or lectures of a collegiate teacher is by that fact proved to be duly qualified, and it has not yet been shown that up to 1883 our undergraduates who passed the Entrance under the 100-marks system were ill-fitted to follow their professors, and, subsequently, failed heavily in the collegiate examinations. Hence I conclude that the scheme of marking adopted in 1883 was an injurious one, and no attempt has now been made to undo it. I feel it my duty, therefore, to place my protest against it. To follow our motto, we have to do everything 'to promote the advancement of learning,' and not to adopt technical subtleties to check that object.

June 7, 1887. RAJENDRALALA MITRA.

THE AGE OF CONSENT BILL.

From

RAJA RAJENDRALALA MITRA, LL.D., C.I.E.,

To

SIR J. WARE EDGAR, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.,

Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

8 Manicktollah Road, Calcutta, the 7th February 1891.

Sir,

I have the honor to acknowledge your letter of the 22nd ultimo, with annexures requesting the expression of my opinion on the Bill to amend the Indian Penal Code and the Criminal Procedure Code. In reply I beg to submit the following remarks for the consideration of His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal.

2. In his "Statement of Objects and Reasons" Sir A. Scoble states that "the limit at which the age of consent is now fixed favours premature consummation by adult husbands of marriages with children who have not reached the age of puberty, and is thus, in the unanimous opinion of medical authorities productive of grievous suffering and permanent injury to child-wives and of physical deterioration in the community to which they belong." The opinion, however, have been very roughly given, and information is not sufficient as to the injury done to the community as regards the individual and the race. Bearing in mind the insufficient and unsatisfactory sanitary conditions to which women in labour are subject, in this country, it may be taken for granted that much preventible injury is being done to the people in this country. The facts, figures and other detailed information are, however, wanting to show the extent of injury done and how much of that injury is due to premature consummation of marriages. Under the circumstances any means of preventing the evil must be, to a great extent, a leap in the dark and we can never be satisfied that our remedies would adequately, if at all, cover the ground we have to work upon. Satistics in this country are quite unsatisfactory, and even the language we use is more of sentiment than of facts. Knowing full well that child bearing is a natural process which is regulated by human nature, and not by art and accident, it is to be expected that the process should go on naturally without let or hinderance and in as much as child-birth, or particularly first child-birth, is subject to serious risks of life, it is to be inferred that the condition is one, if not of danger, at least of serious consideration, and requires to be very carefully handled. In a process of nature, accidents are rare and we should be particularly careful about false assumptions. What we hastily conclude as very likely may be the very reverse of likely. This statement is remarkably illustrated by the guess works lately published by Government. I find there some one who takes the average at 90 per cent. and another who takes it at 40 per cent., which shows that we may be wrong at 50 per cent. in one item. Professional statistics are sadly in defect in this respect; and we may be entirely wrong in our calculation and deductions. There are many factors in case and surely to lump them all under the general head of "premature consummation" is open to severe condemnation. In the case of racial deterioration the reporters who have written on the subject are peculiarly unscientific. In a question of a biology, or physiology, every thing must depend in statistical information, and in this respect we have not a single fact to show that like moral sin improper consummation is visited in the race several generations after the first offender. Under the circumstance I cannot at present believe

in the opinion that there has been sufficient deterioration in the Bengalee race within the last 400 years on account of early marriages. There is positively not an iota of proof in that respect, and I cannot see the smallest chance of doing the people any good by tampering with their marriage law and subjecting individuals to great inconvenience on that account. I have personally high respect for the medical gentlemen consulted, but their letters as published show that they have not been consulted with a view to any scientific decisions. It is certainly not in accordance with their wishes that conclusions have been drawn from reports which have not been got up for submission for scientific purposes. For no scientific man could deduce from them that the nation has deteriorated physically from premature consummation of marriages during many generations. In other words, the conclusions that the Government has arrived at is not in keeping with our ideas of what should be scientific facts. I have not the smallest possible objection to deferring, or altogether rejecting, religious practices of any kind whatever, if it can be shown that such is needed for the good of the community, but the demonstration should be exact and not a matter of leap in the dark, and I cannot accept mere presumption to be proofs, and at present conclusions drawn from the Bill are mere presumptions.

3. Even as a presumption that the delaying of consummation would be beneficial to physical improvement of the race we have *per contra* to examine other conditions which are even greater importance. It was with a view to prevent the deterioration of the race that policy prompted the Brahminic authors to avoid miscegenation and to preserve the purity of their race, they took every care possible to preserve the original purity of their caste. Early marriage is the consequence of their policy, and can we put a stop to early marriage without being prepared to meet with the consequences thereof and of thereby benefiting the nations? It would be easy enough to get up hybrids, but will they be in all cases such as the nations would like to have? There are many biological laws which are well known to the ethnologists but not taken care of with refereuce to the question now under discussion. Physically the Bengalees are certainly not very superior, but there is in their a certain adaptation to the exigency of their condition, which altered conditions may not be adapted to. It is well-known that unions of races like the Punjabis and the Bengalees are not ungenesic, and on the whole what is gained by mere physique is lost by reduced advantages in other respects. Many of these are debatable questions, but it is proposed to cast aside all consideration about them in carrying out the Bill.

4. On the other hand, the question of the faith of the nation on the

e of the Government pledges is now supreme, and the Hindu nation will for certain think that the Government have not been true to their pledges, by breaking their promise. When the promise was given no conditions whatever was attached to it, and to talk of other conditions is not such as would be creditable to Government. The change of law is also provisional on the face of it. The English limit sixteen years for majority ; we in India cannot always abide by a lesser limit. Ere long we shall require to change the limit and all considerations about social, physical and sundry other matters, we shall soon have to propose an alteration of the law in a matter in which the natives are peculiarly sensitive, and our motives in this respect must always be misconstrued at no distant date. Under these circumstances, I cannot recommend or approve of the Government adopting the change proposed. It can do no good whatever by it, but do an incalculable amount of mischief by breaking the pledges of He Majesty and thereby creating a widespread suspicions in the minds of the people.

5. The changes made in the Procedure Code are certainly considerate, but they do not take into consideration that it is not the officers themselves, but the influences under which they are subjected are such as create the greatest amount of mischief. Family dissensions are not the least injurious in this respect. The policy of *hairan* and *pershan* is the most important items to be taken into consideration in regard to the social conditions of the people. To Englishmen it would sound not as very strange ; to you, Sir, I need not say how *hairan* and *pershan* will play so prominent a part in Mofussil life.

I have, the honor to be
Sir,
Your most obedient Servant,

(Sd.) RAJENDRALALA MITTRA.